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# Storing, Archiving, Organizing

*The Changing Dynamics of Scholarly Information  
Management in Post-Reformation Zurich*

By

Anja-Silvia Goeing



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Cover illustration: Book Cover, from Michael Ephesius and Conrad Gessner, *Scholia in Aristotelis libros aliquot* (Basel [1541]). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, A.gr.b. 745, front cover, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00015358-9

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# Acknowledgments

This book is partially my habilitation treatise and it is, as such, part of my Habilitation at Philosophical Faculty of University of Zurich in 2012. I have revised and augmented it for the English-speaking worlds of history of the book, history of education, and history of scholarship in early modern times.

The process of finishing this book has involved discussions with a great many people. Looking back, I am especially grateful to Jürgen Oelkers (Zurich), Emidio Campi (Zurich), and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Frankfurt a. M.), who started me on the project of sifting through the extensively documented Schola Tigurina in Zurich.

Manfred Jourdan (Hamburg) created an excellent atmosphere for on-going research at the Helmut Schmidt University of Hamburg where I had my first experience with independent research. He generously helped me to arrange my first archival stays in Zurich, which provided a foundation for the new project. Two grants by the Swiss National Science Foundation—a project grant and then a personal grant—eventually brought me to Zurich University, financed my research, and allowed me to work very closely with Anthony Grafton of Princeton University at Princeton and Zurich. The on-going cooperation has shaped my approaches and, together with the conceptual and methodological tools I received from the Institute of Swiss Reformation Studies at the University of Zurich, gave me the specific historical background I needed for my work.

Contact with the Reformation Institute and the Department of History at Zurich University, a one-year visiting fellowship at Princeton University, and many conferences, among them five workshops which I co-organized, deepened my understanding of the Zwinglian and Bullingerian Reformation, Calvinism in general, the history of universities, the history of the book, and the history of science—all of which I rely on here. While completing a Master of Studies at Oxford University, I had intense methodological discussions with Laurence Brockliss, Jill Kraye, and Martin McLaughlin, and finally, during a one-year visiting instructorship in history and history of science at California Institute of Technology (made possible by Jed Buchwald, Mordechai Feingold, and the Mellon Foundation), a one-year visiting fellowship in the department of history at Harvard University (made possible by Ann Blair and the Mellon Foundation), and a generous grant by the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, I was able to produce the first draft of this book. With it, I gained in Summer 2012 the Habilitation at Philosophical Faculty of University of Zurich and the *Venia Legendi* for the History of Early Modern Education. Visiting positions at Caltech and Northumbria University allowed me to review and

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In the most recent stage of my work, the idea formed to write this book in English. As a non-native speaker, I am very thankful for all of the help I got along the way in making me fluent in the English-language historical discussion, starting with Gyan Prakash and the Davis Center at Princeton University, Helen Swift, Chris Wickham and the Master of Studies group at Oxford, Laurence Brockliss and the History of Childhood, Early Modern History and Book History group at Harvard, and ending with Adam Blauhut (Berlin) in an early stage of the work, and Paula Friedman and Margaret Puskar Pasewicz in a second stage, who have edited my work diligently and with unceasing patience. And lastly, I am grateful to Ann Blair for a very thorough peer review, I.S. (Pierke) Bosschieter for extracting and discussing the index terms, and my Brill editors Arjan van Dijk, Francis Knikker and Anita Opdam for overseeing and communicating the publishing process.

## Webpage Contents: Further Materials

<http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/scholim1559>

The website is designed as a growing resource of primary material, glossaries, and explanations. Its contents include the matricles of the lectorium, the entire batch of the school minutes used in this book (1560–1582), and the contents' lists for Conrad Gessner's *Physicarum Meditationum* (1586). The website also co-hosts an online exhibition showcasing *Conrad Gessner's De Anima and the Republic of Letters*.

In the long run, I am planning to integrate two databases: a prosopographic database containing the names and biopics of students and teachers at the lectorium from 1523 to 1804 and a database containing information on textbooks and reference books as well as treatises written and used in Zurich during the same period.

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## Notes on the Transcription

The manuscripts are transcribed as literally as possible and include different spellings of the same names, such as Fries and Frieß. However, the transcription of “v” and “u” follows very often modern pronunciation to make the text more readable. Marginal notes from later writers are not transcribed. Unreadable passages are marked with a \* when at the end of a word and with ... when free standing.

For technical reasons, in the Appendix, uppercase “o” and “e” are usually not transcribed. Where they are transcribed, in the quotes cited in Parts III–V of the main text and in Appendices 4 and 11, they are set as <o> and <e>. Marks on top of letters, such as “j” are not transcribed, and the letter “ÿ” is set as y or ij, where it appears. Crossed out, but readable, words or text passages are set in angle brackets <...>.

The most important abbreviations concern the currency. Text comparisons have shown that 1 gn or gl (Gulden) is equivalent to 1 fl (Florin) and is equivalent to 2 [lb] (local pound). One Gulden is equivalent to 40 ß (Shilling), or fifteen Batzen or “bazen”; 1 ß is equivalent to 6 hl (Heller).

## *Introduction*







## The Development of Scholarly Practices within Institutions

Commentary, if we understand the word correctly, is what one writes to another seriously, urgently and rashly; but what he would otherwise discuss orally with him, if in the other's presence.

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1526)<sup>1</sup>

How scholars organized their materials and to whom they granted access are key questions for explaining what happened during the knowledge revolutions of early modern Europe. By knowledge revolutions, I mean those changes in European society that took place between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries as a result of the introduction and use of the printing press for the distribution of information and the paradigm shifts that took place in medicine and astronomy through the introduction of empirical observations and simplifying techniques of calculation.

In the past thirty years, it has been mostly book historians who have uncovered the connections between the materiality of the written word and the forming of new knowledge traditions in intellectual history. In this book, I want to see if these general results gathered from sixteenth-century book history can be extended to the question of how knowledge developed within institutions, such as political governments, colleges, or the church.

The extension of questions opened up in book historical research into the context of institutions is not only possible but necessary. Examining institutional protocols connects scholars' books to their teaching and problems of the transfer of knowledge to the politics of institutions. Book history, inasmuch as it deals with the transfer of knowledge, is revisited throughout this volume's discussion of how the written word develops in an institutional setting.

Schools and governments have in common that they follow a set of administrative rules that shape knowledge in a different way than does the influence of individual authorship or the politics of the book market. For example,

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1 Commentarius/so wir das woertlin recht verstond/ist/so einer zuo eynem andren ernstlich / notlich/ unn unbedacht schrybt/ das er aber sunst/ so er by jmm waere / mundtlich mit jm zereden hette. Huldrych Zwingli, "Zu dem Christenlichen Laeser," in *Von warem und valschem Glouben/Commentarius/das ist/underrichtung/Huldrych Zuïnglins*, ed. Huldrych Zwingli, Vertuetschet durch Leonem Jud. (Zurich: Froschauer, 1526), f. 11v.

consider teaching institutions in which individual teachers would be asked to follow a strict program of courses that impeded them from teaching their own books. Such rules, for example, constrained the work of Peter Franciscus of Ravenna, also known as Pietro Francesco Tommasi or Tommai (ca. 1448–1508), who was the professor of canon law at Padua.<sup>2</sup> Although he became famous as the author of *Phoenix or the Art of Memory*, a book that Frances Yates and Paolo Rossi mention as a manual introducing a Ciceronian memory tool that was widely disseminated during the sixteenth century, he did not teach on memory in the law course at his home university.<sup>3</sup> Tommai was restricted in his teaching by a rigid institutional interpretation of the course syllabus, which remained unchanged for a very long time. That interpretation required him to lecture on the traditional compendium of canon law that his colleagues also used for their students.

However, such institutional restrictions could lead to new patterns in knowledge transmission. Recent studies show that Peter of Ravenna's book of memory was instead a part of an extracurricular activity in rhetoric in the *artes liberales* section of Padua University, which was open to lawyers and might have prepared them to work in the law offices of the state of Venice.<sup>4</sup> Although the treatment of knowledge in this university did not change *officially*, new and fashionable methods of learning would have required some modification. Peter's book of memory was one of these new methods but it only found its way to the students along an extracurricular path.

This example from the University of Padua raises questions about new methods of knowledge transmission. For instance, what did this generation of students make out of this official-versus-extracurricular divide? Did they continue to transfer and use the laws written in the ancient compendia as their forebears did, or did they slowly apply the new methods to the old texts? And

2 Paolo Sambin, "Lazzaro e Giovanni Francesco Beolco, Nonno e Padre del Ruzante," in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 7 (1964), 149n3 gives an entire Italian bibliography on Petrus Tommasi (Peter of Ravenna) up to 1964. A bibliographical summary up to 2015 is given by Annalisa Belloni, *Professori Giuristi a Padova nel secolo xv: profili bio-bibliografici e cattedre*, *Ius Communis*, Sonderhefte, 28 (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1986), 300–02.

3 Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 1st ed. 1966 (London: Pimlico, 2008), 119–221; Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language* (London: Continuum, 2006), 20–23. Pietro da Ravenna gained fame both in his home institution and abroad, see Jacobus Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini* (Padua: Manfré, 1757), 54–55 and Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 82. This fame helped him to transfer from Padua to Greifswald at the end of his life.

4 See Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Paduan Extracurricular Rhetoric (1488–1491)," in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden: Brill 2016), 542–60.

when did this shift begin to appear in institutionalized university training? What was the impact of the new methods on learning and instruction? What happened, for example, when the idea of memory as the centre of human intellectual activity was succeeded and challenged by a new emphasis on sense perception? Did memory training cede to indexing and organizing practices?

This book examines the post-Reformation environment of the Zurich theological seminary (founded by Huldrych Zwingli between 1523 and 1525) and thus extends the questions of book history into a much broader environment. This case study focuses particularly on three components: (1) the novelty of the Zurich lectorium, which was founded as “new,” clearly signalling a break from older traditions on all levels: overall goals, design of courses and teaching materials, and policies of acceptance and administration; (2) the abundance of archival material that provides researchers with access to remote and ephemeral scholarly practices, such as note taking and lecture writing, used in book history to connect book production and book usage; and (3) the school’s integrated organization since the teachers, the authors of scholarly books used in Zurich education, and the administrators of the school were the same people. The Zurich scholars’ methods of research for writing and publishing a book were directly comparable to their methods of research for teaching, administering, and leading their institutional community. They all emanated from the same intellects and scholarly environments.

These three circumstances—novelty, rich archives, and integrated administration—distinguished Zurich from other contemporary universities. For example, the records of the University of Heidelberg, kept by the warden of the university, do not discuss matters pertaining to the curriculum.<sup>5</sup> They also show that the warden was required to perform non-curricular tasks; the dominance in the archival records of financial transactions and building matters over the treatment of students is thus quite revealing.

The present study focuses, on a micro level, on the Zurich Lectorium, planned as an institution of higher education in the wake of humanism and according to the demands of the reforming church, approved by the Zurich town government. Local authorities and international networks of intellectuals both left their traces and mixed thoughts and ideas, partly originating in Zurich, and partly imported from the Protestant circles close to Philip Melanchthon are suggested as the origins of scholarly practices offered to the Zurich students.

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5 *Die Amtsbücher der Universität Heidelberg = Libri actorum Universitatis Heidelbergensis*, ed. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für die Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (Heidelberg: Winter 1986–).

A second volume in preparation focused on the students will look closely at matriculation lists and life documents, students' notebooks and annotations, and their letters. Finally, in the next volume I will also examine their lectures, sermons, and written books as adults, asking what influence the school had on the creation of a knowledge society.

The study in this first volume is based primarily on three types of sources: the school statutes of 1559/1560, a narrow slice of the school minutes, kept in the Zurich archives from 1560 to 1804, and textbooks and lecture scripts used in class. Each source has a specific format, a distinct means of distribution, and a particular reception. The school regulations elucidate the way in which erudition and behaviour were perceived by some of the town elites. These regulations were formulated by the teachers and Heinrich Bullinger—the head of the reformed Zurich church—and read aloud to pupils, teachers, and all of those concerned in the running of the school. The minutes, kept by the head of the school, disclose how the school applied and sometimes modified these rules and procedures to deal with daily affairs. They enumerate the changing student population and record admissions, awards, curricula, and examination results; they also deal with disciplinary offences. To make them an effective tool for future head teachers, some of the records were indexed and systematized.

Other sources—textbooks and students' notes, library catalogues and other class-related materials—illustrate the changes that took place in instruction. Sometimes written by the school's professors, these materials use and reveal a variety of formats and techniques to further affect and improve instruction. Of particular interest are the courses on Hebrew and theology by Johann Wilhelm Stucki (1521–1607), Pietro Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), and Josias Simmler (1530–1576). Another important set of teachings is the Aristotelian commentary *De Anima* (1563) written by the town physician and polymath Conrad Gessner (1516–1565). While Gessner is known for his classic work in the organization of knowledge, so far very little is known about his aims as a teacher.

This book contributes to two different strands of historical research. The first strand is the history of post-Reformation Swiss academies, which is not yet fully known. The last major book about the Lectorium of Zurich came out in 1938.<sup>6</sup> Research is lacking on the Genevan academy after the last important

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6 Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Nabholz, and Jean Strohl, eds., *Die Universität Zürich 1833–1933 und ihre Vorläufer. Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier*, Die Zürcherischen Schulen seit der Regeneration der 1830er Jahre 3 (Zurich: Verlag der Erziehungsdirektion, 1938).

publication by Charles Borgeaud in 1959.<sup>7</sup> And only lately, in 2013, did Karine Crousaz publish her doctoral dissertation on the academy of Lausanne, focusing on the first twenty years of its existence—that is, until 1558/1559, when the teachers left the city to be part of the new academy in Geneva.<sup>8</sup> Not only has the treatment of Swiss colleges been neglected but also the only university in Swiss territory, Basel University, which different from the later cantonal founded colleges had received its university privileges in 1459 from the Pope, lacks comprehensive study. In her magisterial book *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (2006), Amy Nelson Burnett gives a remarkable number of insights into the curriculum at Basel University.<sup>9</sup> However, her book is focused not on the education of preachers but on the sermons with which the new generation of ministers at Basel educated the people. On the Catholic side, both the Jesuit Collegium Saint-Michel in Fribourg and the Jesuit College in Lucerne have not yet been researched in full.<sup>10</sup> Switzerland's higher education in the confessional era is quite unknown; therefore, a close-up examination of Zurich will shed light into a clearly neglected area of research.

The second strand of historical research examines the transfer of knowledge. Research about the management of knowledge is in its infancy, and not much is yet known about the creation and formation of techniques. The range of techniques in the sixteenth century ran from indexing on the one hand to scholia and commentary on the other. Were reference books, printed indexes, and printed commonplace books rooted in similar notions of information? Were methods individual or learned in school? Was there a difference between Catholic and Protestant environments in the practice of humanism and in the spread of new forms of knowledge? There are no answers yet, but fortunately there are case studies that will help along the way: Paul White's work on Jodocus Badius Ascensius, William H. Sherman's work *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* on techniques of annotations, and, finally, Anthony T. Grafton

7 Charles Borgeaud and Paul E. Martin, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, 4 vols., (Genève: George, 1900–1959); Charles Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève: L'Académie et l'Université au XIXe siècle, 1814–1900*, 3 vols. (Genève: George, 1934–1959).

8 Karine Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre Humanisme et Réforme (ca. 1537–1560)*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

9 Cf. Amy N. Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation, Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 261–87.

10 Among the most recent publications is André-Jean Marquis, *Le Collège Saint-Michel De Fribourg (Suisse), Sa Fondation Et Ses Débuts 1579–1597* (Fribourg: Imprimerie St. Paul, 1969).

and Lisa Jardine's seminal article on Gabriel Harvey's notes of Livius.<sup>11</sup> My book takes an approach following that of Ann Blair and others on scholarly practices that have centred recently on collecting, the archives and note-taking practices.<sup>12</sup>

I strive to understand the techniques of storing and organizing bits of knowledge and the value of those techniques for contemporary scholarship in the second half of the sixteenth century by taking genres and different formats of writing seriously. Blair and others, such as Brian Ogilvie and Richard Yeo, have set a broader goal of research into managing "information overload," the proliferation of all sorts of information in the early modern era.<sup>13</sup> Very recently, other researchers have been broadening these book historical approaches to include other aspects of the material cultures of writing, notably archives and their organization.<sup>14</sup> Whereas this research is usually connected to political

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- 11 Paul White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius: Commentary, Commerce, and Print in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past & Present* 129 (Nov. 1990): 30–78.
  - 12 Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010). See also: Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton, and Paul Michel, eds. *Collectors' Knowledge: What is Kept, What is Discarded*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Michael Hunter, *Archives of the Scientific Revolution: the formation and exchange of ideas in seventeenth-century Europe* (Woodbridge, Rochester: Boydell Press, 1998); Randolph C. Head, "Documents, Archives, and Proof around 1700," *The Historical Journal* 56 (2013), 909–30; Markus Friedrich, *Die Geburt des Archivs. Eine Wissensgeschichte* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013); Filippo de Vivo, Andrea Guidi, and Alessandro Silvestri, eds., *Archivi e archivisti in Italia tra Medioevo ed età moderna*. Libri di Viella 203 (Roma: Viella, 2015); and recently Helmut Zedelmaier, "Suchen und Finden vor Google: Zur Metadatenproduktion im 16. Jahrhundert," in *For the Sake of Learning*, 423–40.
  - 13 See Ann M. Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550–1700," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 11–28; Brian W. Ogilvie, "The Many Books of Nature: Renaissance Naturalists and Information Overload," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 29–40; Richard Yeo, "A Solution to the Multitude of Books: Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728) as 'The Best Book in the Universe,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 61–72.
  - 14 For church archives in the ages of Reformation and Confessionalization see: Mareike Menne, "Confession, Confusion, and Rule in a Box? Archival Accumulation in Northwestern Germany in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archival Science* 10, no. 3 (2010): 299–314; Nicholas Popper, "From Abbey to Archive: Managing Texts and Records in Early Modern England," *Archival Science* 10, no. 3 (2010): 249–66. Delving into sixteenth century Swiss archives are the following studies: Simon Teuscher, "Document Collections, Mobilized Regulations, and the Making of Customary Law at the End of the Middle Ages," *Archival*

history and the governing of a state, small archives, such as school or church archives, still need to be explored to find out more about early modern practices of information storage and use. The present book pursues this goal. I argue that new organizing techniques, especially a method developed in-house of key wording and indexing, had an impact on the kind of knowledge that was studied in Zurich.

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*Science* 10, no. 3 (2010): 211–29; Thomas Hildbrand, *Herrschaft, Schrift und Gedächtnis: Das Kloster Allerheiligen und sein Umgang mit Wissen in Wirtschaft, Recht und Archiv (11.–16. Jahrhundert)* (Zurich: Chronos, 1996); Randolph C. Head, “Knowing Like a State: The Transformation of Political Knowledge in Swiss Archives, 1450–1770,” *The Journal of Modern History* 75, no. 4 (2003): 745–82; Randolph C. Head, “Mirroring Governance: Archives, Inventories and Political Knowledge in Early Modern Switzerland and Europe,” *Archival Science* 7, no. 4 (2008): 317–29.

## Scholarship and Protestantism

Modern scholars have identified three highly important means of information management practiced in the sixteenth century. Each was associated with a famous humanist. Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam refined the traditional method of working with mnemonic places. Peter Ramus, the Parisian philosopher, opposed Aristotle's dialectics with new logical schemes. Philip Melancthon, the Wittenberg theologian, developed a new keyword system for the use in theological advice literature. These techniques had a major influence on the changing religious belief and practice found in the reformation of the church by both Protestants and Catholics. The issues of institutionally and confessionally different techniques and traditions of acquiring and retaining information are currently under discussion and far from being resolved.

Like most early modern scholars, Erasmus, Ramus, and Melancthon collected quotations from books, which they intended to use in speeches, publications, and teachings. Since Renate Schweyen analysed the workbook of Battista Guarino da Verona (1434–1513) in her Munich dissertation of 1971,<sup>1</sup> it has been shown that scholars in late medieval times and later used so-called commonplace books, or *topoi* or *loci* books, to write down snippets of classical literature and to keep their findings in an order they would later be able to trace back. Cicero described the rhetorical technique in a metaphorical story about the Greek rhetor Simonides. Simonides was the only person who had luckily escaped a fire at the house of one of his friends. With the help of his memory, he was able to connect places in the architecture of the house with the names of people he had seen that evening at the dinner. Thus, the burnt bodies could later be identified.

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1 Renate Schweyen, *Guarino Veronese: Philosophie und humanistische Pädagogik* (Munich: Fink, 1973), Introduction, 197n43. Schweyen refers to R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1954). Bolgar describes on p. 270 the technique used by Guarino Veronese, which his son Battista Guarino wrote down, as a collection of florilegia. The collection criteria were new, however, not medieval, and the Greek Manuel Chrysoloras had brought them from Byzantium to Florence. Chrysoloras's student Guarino developed this technique, and after Guarino, Sassolo da Prato followed, a student of Guarinos and Vittorino da Feltres; also Lorenzo Valla has used the technique in his "Donation of Constantine." There is a lot to discuss and add here that is not the topic of this work.



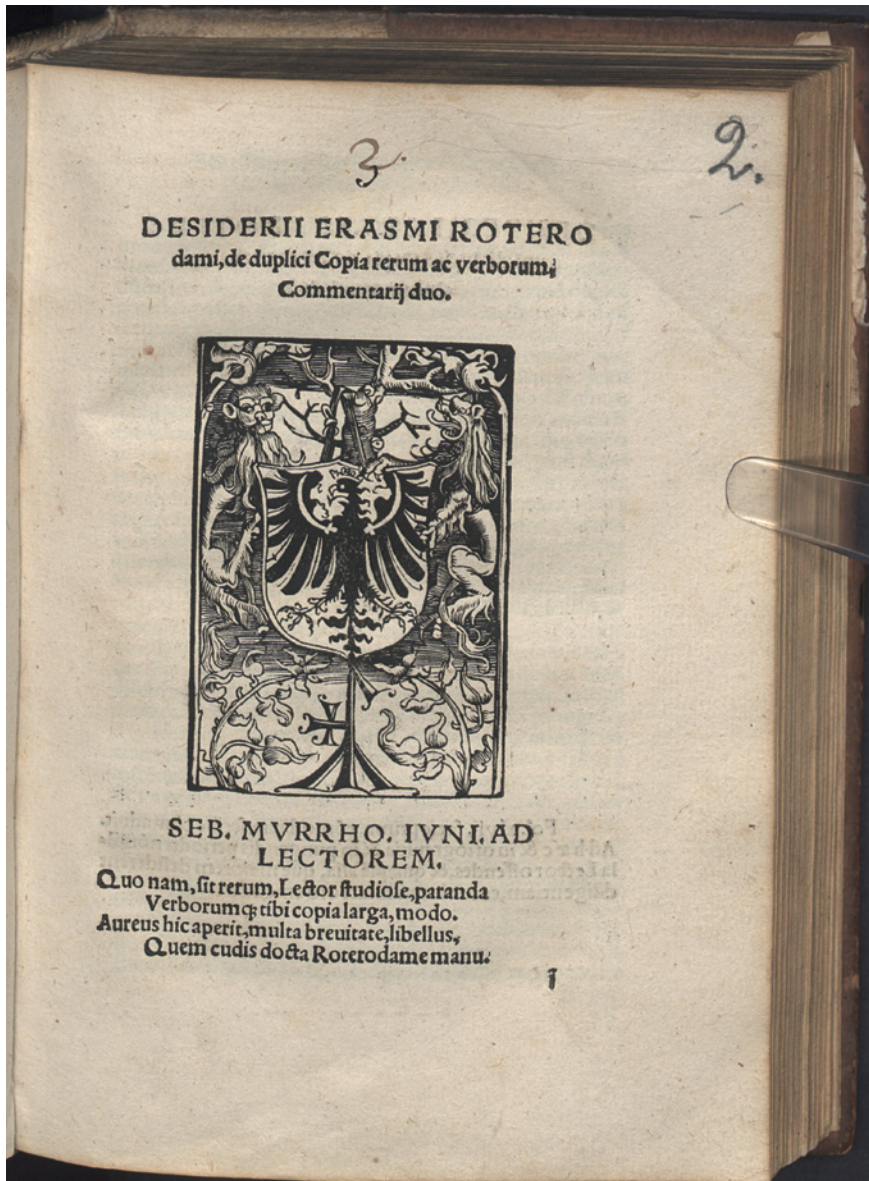


FIGURE 1A a&b: Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De duplici Copia rerum ac verborum, Commentarij duo* (2nd ed., Strasbourg: Schürer, 1513), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 L.lat. 168, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb0001074-3

DETAILS: TITLE

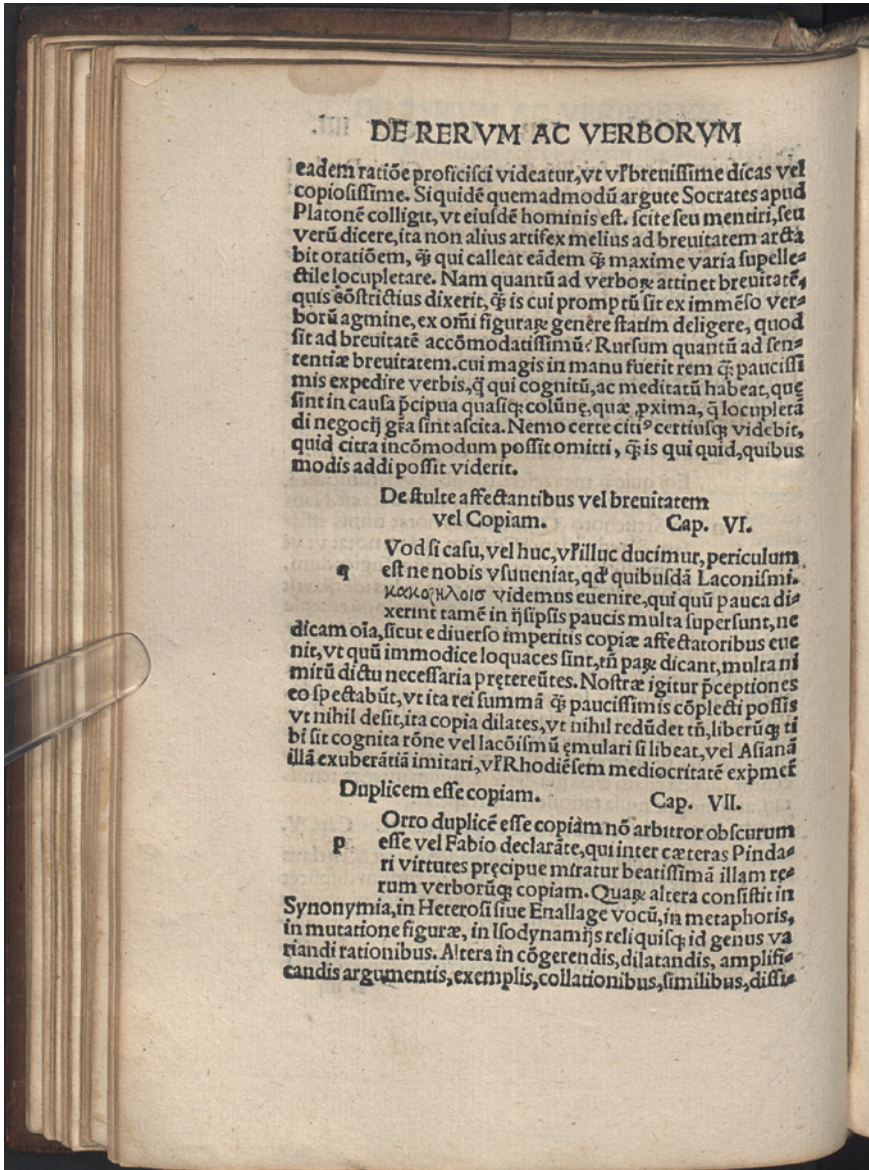


FIGURE 1B *a&b: Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, De duplici Copia rerum ac verborum, Commentarij duo (2nd ed., Strasbourg: Schürer, 1513), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 L.lat. 168, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb0001074-3*  
 DETAILS: FIRST BOOK, SEVENTH CHAPTER, ABOUT “RES ET VERBA,” ARGUMENTS, AND WORDS.

First, Erasmus wrote a manual on the rhetorical technique of collecting pieces of information and organizing them according to specific mnemonic places, which were called loci or topoi. Students and later scholars collected them in so-called commonplace books, also known as loci or topoi books. In Erasmus's case, the loci were not rooms in a house but index or chapter headers. He brought back from Italy to London and Basel a manuscript that he had been working on for many years and which was published after 1512 as *De Copia*.<sup>2</sup> In the 1550s, with the broad use of printing presses in scholarly fields, manuscript versions of commonplace books found their ways into print and were used, for example, at Strasbourg as textbooks for the next generation of students.<sup>3</sup> Common placing was sometimes accompanied by methods of intense indexing.

These methods were used all over Europe, mostly where rhetoricians were working; in government offices and archives, libraries and schools, they used a variety of documents and their catalogues in their capacities as school administrators, lawyers, teachers, preachers, and also, as physicians. It is important that recent studies of reference books and teaching materials have shown that classical and also more contemporary literature was read (and common placed) in the sixteenth century differently in distinct institutions.<sup>4</sup>

In his attempt to develop a new general logic to analyse all scholarly knowledge, Petrus Ramus advocated a practical method of organizing information that proceeded from the general to the particular and often took tabular form (see fig. 2). His *Dialectics* of 1543 was widely used, especially in German-speaking lands.<sup>5</sup> But, as in the case of Erasmus, interpreters used Ramus's schemes and framework in many different individual and collective ways, as shown in a recent web exhibitions at the University Library of Chicago. A student, reading the *Methodica Ivis Vtriusque Traditio*, a book on law written by the Wittenberg Jurist Conrad Lagus and published in 1544, uses Ramus's table

2 See Herbert David Rix, "The Edition of Erasmus' *de copia*," *Studies in Philology* 43 (1946): 597–98.

3 See Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Martin Crusius' Verwendung von Notizen seines Lehrers Johannes Sturms" in *Johannes Sturm (1507–1589): Rhetor, Pädagoge und Diplomat*, ed. Matthieu Arnold (Mainz: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 239–60 (an English translation can be found at [http://www.academia.edu/232368/Martin\\_Crusius\\_Use\\_of\\_the\\_Notes\\_of\\_his\\_Teacher\\_Johannes\\_Sturm](http://www.academia.edu/232368/Martin_Crusius_Use_of_the_Notes_of_his_Teacher_Johannes_Sturm)).

4 See White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius*; Blair, *Too Much to Know*; and Sherman, *Used Books* for examples.

5 Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543–1630*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven J. Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), specifically articles by Peter Mack, Steven J. Reid, Emma Annette Wilson, and Raphael Hallet.



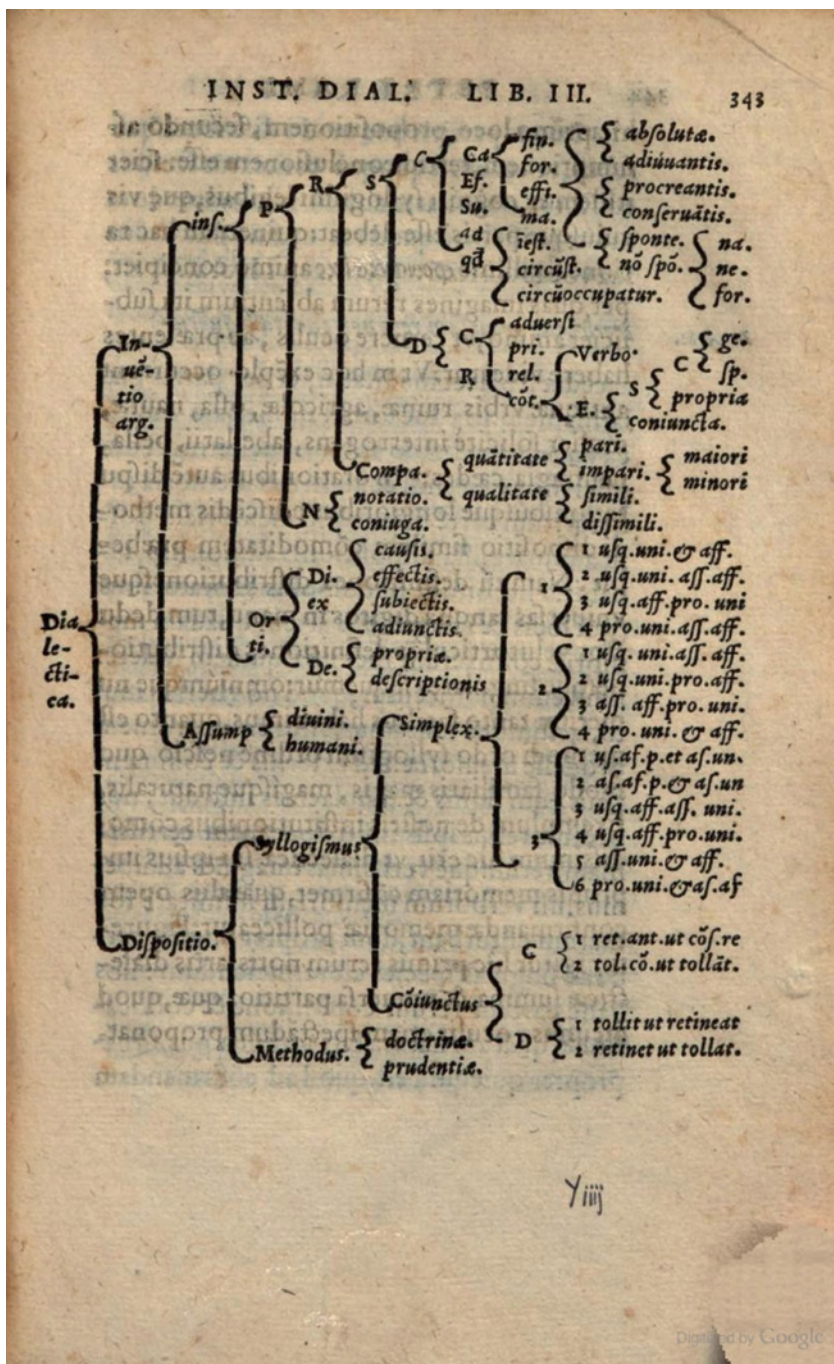


FIGURE 2 *Petrus Ramus (1515–1572), Petri Rami Institutionum Dialecticarum Libri Tres (Paris, 1552), 343*

COURTESY OF NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF ROME.

format to visualize the book's content on the first two pages. The student freely translates Ramus's schemes to fit to the new topic as interpreted by the German professor.<sup>6</sup> Knowing Ramus's work was not equivalent with always having the same route to answering questions concerning the disciplines. Individuals as well as groups of students and teachers would use Ramus's organization and visualization possibilities in many different ways.

The third way of organizing knowledge was that associated with Melanchthon (see fig. 3). As Timothy Wengert has pointed out in his account of Melanchthon's use of dialectical loci for theology and the interpretation of the Bible, Melanchthon uses "loci communes" in three ways:

as storehouses for arguments to be used in oratory, as general meanings or topics of a speech or text, or as the basic principles of content which stand behind a speech or text... In their capacity as basic principles of content they are closely related to the "scopus," "status" or "summa" of a text, and they provide Melanchthon with a method of analysing the text.<sup>7</sup>

Loci in this tradition also provided the principal headers for large indexes that contemporaries prepared of classical works. Transferred to the Internet-speech of today, this approach might be seen as using an elaborate system of keywords for dealing with text paraphrases.<sup>8</sup>

Although these three approaches to organizing gathered notes were the most prominent methods in sixteenth-century scholarship, there were also others not related to Erasmus's generic descriptions on collecting verses for letter writing in *De Copia*, Petrus Ramus's distinctive chains of characteristics to describe and identify objects, and Philip Melanchthon's loci-collections. Indeed, there was an extraordinary variety of organizing practices.

Comparisons of different loci-indexes might therefore illustrate how the interpretation of texts varied; the following is an example from the Zurich context, which compares and contrasts the Lutheran Bible of 1531, printed in the

6 Early reader's table index after Ramus, in Conrad Lagus, *Methodica Iuris Utriusque Traditio...* (Lyon: Apud Seb. Gryphum, 1544), blank front pages, Exhibition at University of Chicago Library (internet source, <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/webexhibits/bookusebooktheory/diagram.html>, accessed 15 April 2016).

7 Timothy J. Wengert, *Philip Melanchthon's Annotationes in Johannem in Relation to its Predecessors and Contemporaries* (Genève: Droz, 1987), Melanchthon's "Index" of the Gospel of John, 167–83.

8 Siegfried Wiedenhofer, *Formalstrukturen humanistischer und reformatorischer Theologie bei Philipp Melanchthon*, vol. 1 (Berne: Lang, 1976), 373–79.

CATALOGVS LOCORVM COMMVNIVM.	
De Deo.	B 3.
Quod vnus sit Deus.	B 4.
De tribus personis diuinitatis.	C 1.
De Spiritu sancto.	E 2.
De creatione.	E 4.
De causa peccati & de contingentia.	F 3.
De humanis viribus, ac delibero arbitrio.	G 1.
De peccato.	H 1.
De peccato Originis.	H 2.
Vnde sit peccatum Originis.	H 4.
De poenis peccati.	H 4.
De peccatis actualibus.	I 4.
De Lege diuina.	K 3.
Diuisio legum.	K 4.
Decalogus.	L 2.
Prima Tabula.	L 2.
Secunda Tabula.	L 4.
De lege Naturali.	M 2.
Catalogus.	M 4.
De vsu legis diuinae.	N 4.
De discrimine Praeceptorum & Consiliorum.	O 3.
De paupertate.	O 3.
De castitate.	P 1.
De Euangelio.	P 2.
Quare opus est Euangelij promissione.	Q 1.
De Gratia & de Iustificatione.	Q 4.
De bonis operibus.	>1.
De promissionibus legalibus.	>8.
De discrimine peccati mortalis ac venialis.	85.
De Praedestinatione.	88.
De discrimine Veteris & Noui Testamenti.	90.
De ipsi	

FIGURE 3 Philip Melancthon, *Loci Communes Theologici* (Wittenberg, 1541), f. 180v: List of Loci, detail, Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/4Theol.syst.33, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsbno69755-6



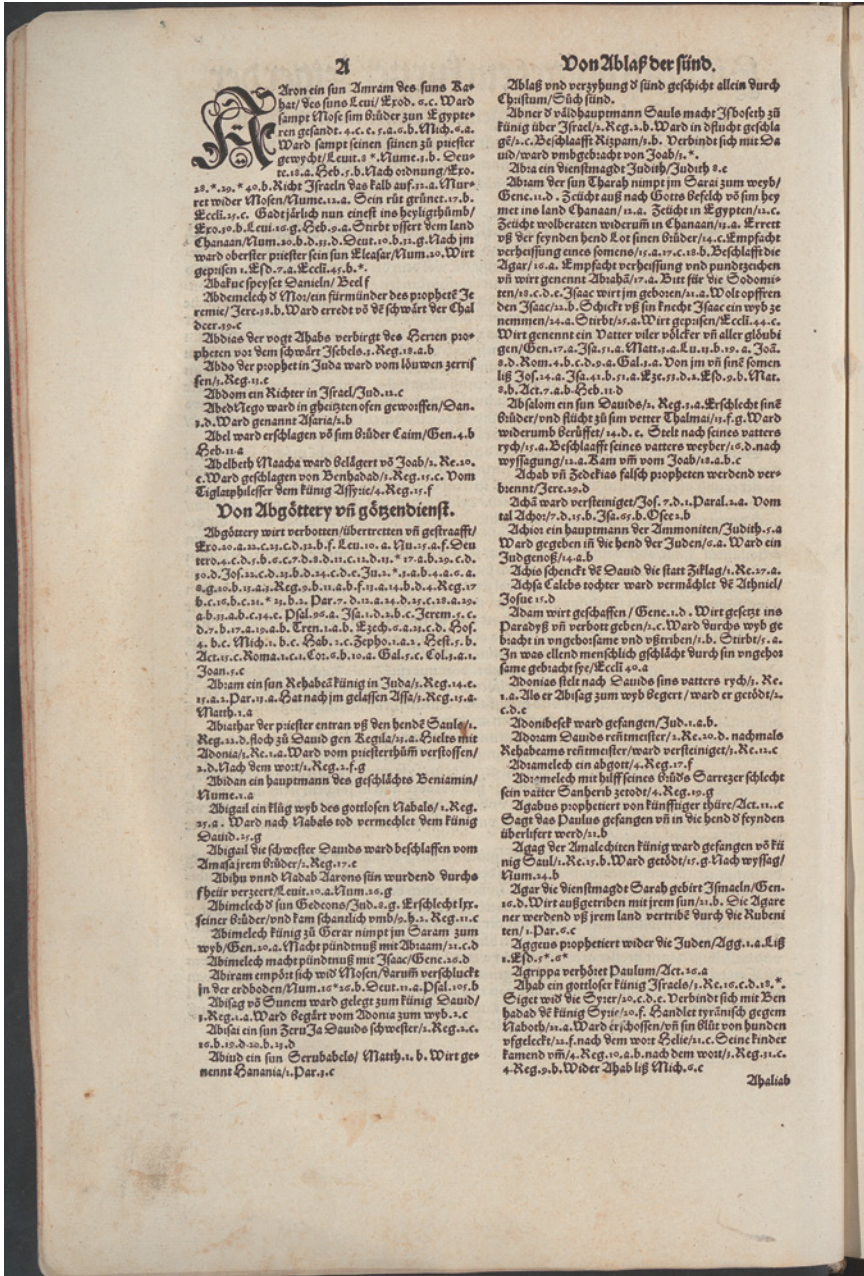


FIGURE 4 "On Indulgence," detail of index, in Leo Jud, Hans Holbein, Michael Adam, Die gantze bibel (Zurich: Froschauer, 1540), printer mark aaa(v). ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK ZÜRICH, VIII bis 32. "Von Ablass der sünd." is emphasized as title of the right column. The entry is set in larger letters than the rest of the index column, however it does not define a series of sub headers following. The next entry "Abner" does not have anything to do with Ablass.

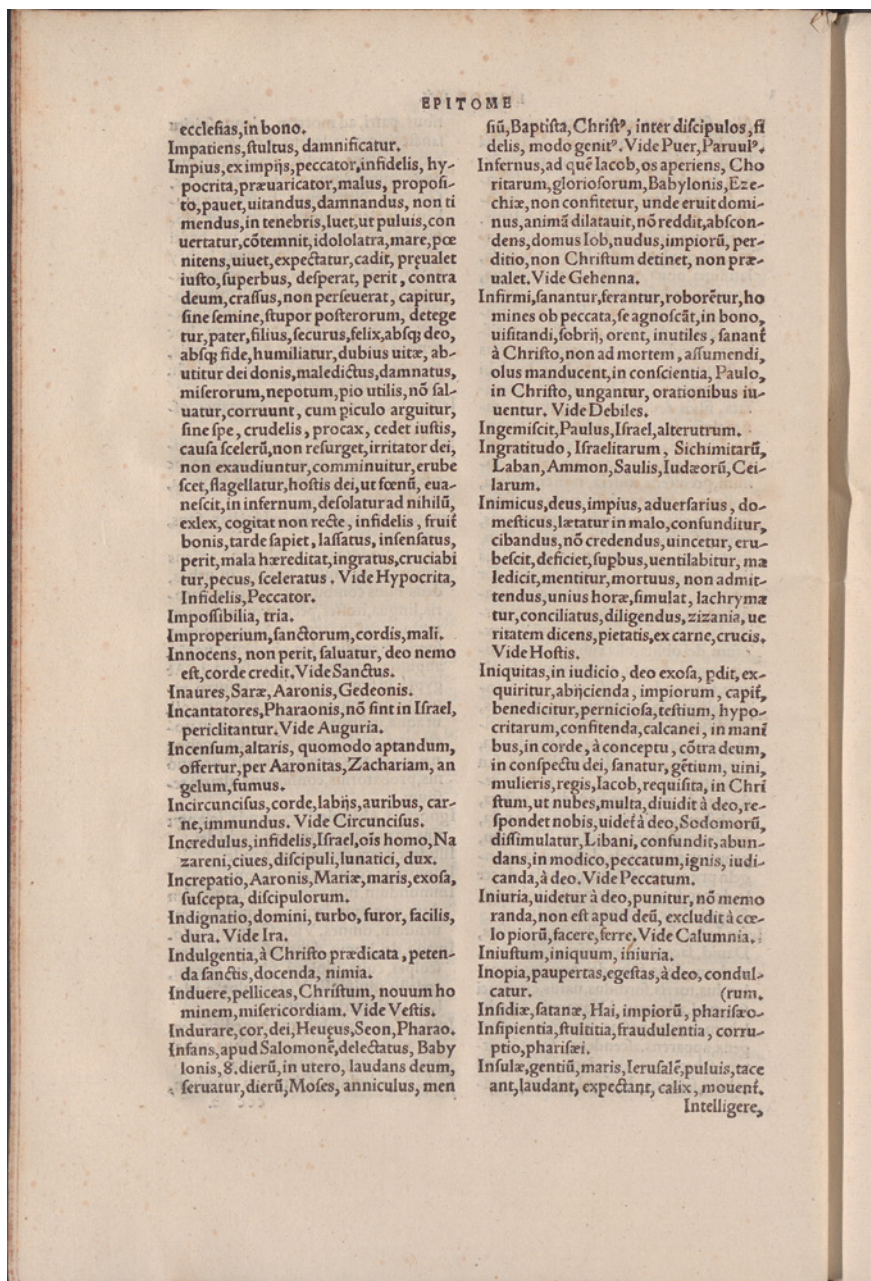


FIGURE 5A Konrad Pellicanus, "Indulgentia," detail at the bottom of the first colum in the Epitome Locorum, the first abbreviated index of Pellicanus's Index Bibliorum (Konrad Pellicanus, *Index Bibliorum* [Zurich: Froschauer, 1537], printer mark ccc 2 [v]) ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK ZÜRICH, 5.83.



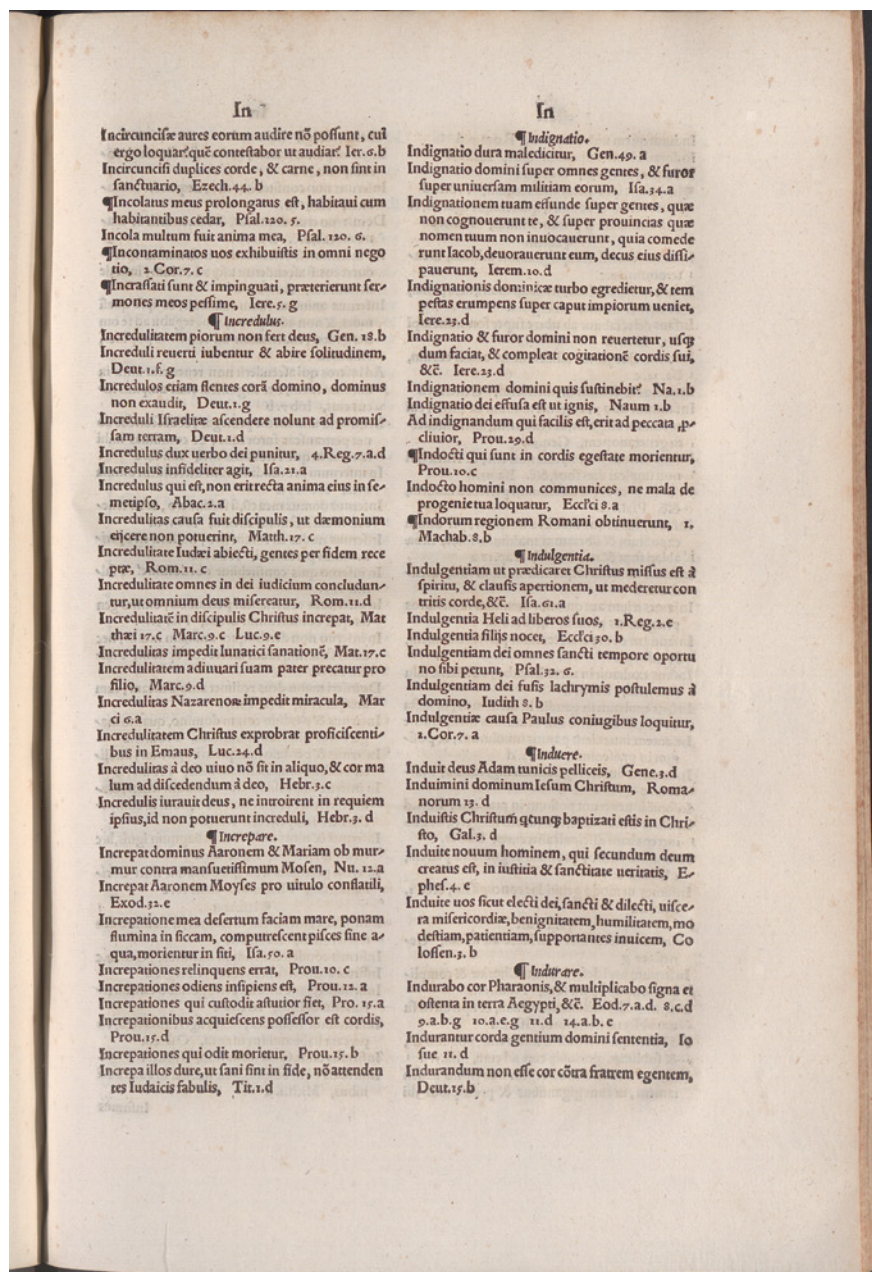


FIGURE 5B Konrad Pellicanus, "Indulgentia," detail in the second column of the second—main—index of *Loci Communi* that include cross references to the Holy Scripture (Konrad Pellicanus, *Index Bibliorum* [Zurich: Froschauer, 1537], printer mark G 4 [v]) ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK ZÜRICH, 5.83.

city, and the Zurich Bible published in 1540.<sup>9</sup> The Lutheran Bible contains no reference or locus to the term “Ablass” or indulgence. In the Zurich Bible, on the other hand, the key phrase “Vom Ablass der Sünd” (about the indulgence of sin) is set in large bold letters as an eye-catcher on the index page (fig. 4). After a short explanation that indulgence is only given by Christ (an implicit rebuke to the Catholic practices of purchasing indulgences), the indexer uses the phrase “search sin.” This means that the reader should go to the place in the index under the letter “s” for sin and read more.

Figures 5a and 5b show the same keyword, this time in Latin (*indulgentia*) in the index that Konrad Pellicanus, professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, published in Zurich in 1537.<sup>10</sup> Part 2 of Pellicanus’s index (fig. 5b) uses the loci-organization that would later become important with Gessner’s encyclopaedias (see Part 4 of this work): a header with a keyword or phrase is set, under which individual examples, with bibliographic notes for reference, are gathered.<sup>11</sup>

Different types of index imply different sorts of readers. The German-language Zurich Bible addressed the needs of the pious Zwinglian. Pellicanus’s Latin index catered to the organizational interests of the erudite reader.

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9 In Zurich’s printing presses, all German-language Bibles had, from 1531 onward, one or more indexes; only the first edition of the Zurich Bible in 1530 did not have an index. Indexed Printings in Zurich of a vernacular Bible included reprints of the Luther Bible in 1531 and later editions, and also the Zurich Bible, a new translation made in the town, in its second edition of 1540 and in later editions. The first edition of the Zurich Bible did not have an index.

10 Konrad Pellicanus, *Index Bibliorum* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1537).

11 In 2012 Bruce Gordon and Matthew Maclean edited a volume of comparative case studies about the reception of the Bible in the sixteenth century, but these do not include an investigation of Bible indexes and their use by the lay population. Bruce Gordon and Matthew Maclean, *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars, and their Readers in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

## Why Zurich as a Case Study

This method of indexing had consequences in the Zurich case, when it came to developing content for teaching and transferring knowledge within institutions. The Zurich theological seminary, or Zurich Lectorium, was founded by Huldrych Zwingli and the town of Zurich at the Grossmünster Stift in 1525 following a preparatory phase of two years. This institution was set up to translate and to interpret the Bible as accurately as possible, and thus, help the Zurich town council to govern according to the Bible. In 1523, the city council inserted Zwingli's reform plans into the town government rules: the Zurich citizens were supposed to live according to the Bible in a reformed faith. In the early days, the institution was called *Prophezei* because its main purpose was to lay out the fundamentals for this new societal life by translating and interpreting the Bible.

The Zurich Lectorium was also intended to educate the next generation of preachers, based on a curriculum that comprised the three ancient languages of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin with studies not only in the Bible but also in humanist Latin and Greek literature, and, from 1541 on, Aristotelian physics and ethics. The greatest amount of time was taken up with readings and interpretations of the Old Testament, chapter by chapter, using methods close to scholia commentaries, as taught, for example, in Strasbourg from 1538 on. After 1580, these interpretations of the Bible could also take the form of printed loci, distilled from the work of the deceased Peter Martyr Vermigli.<sup>1</sup>

The students at the lectorium came mostly from the canton, but the matriculation lists from the seventeenth century show that students came also from other countries. Nevertheless, general scholarly literature about the Zurich academy agrees that, from 1560 on, outside influences diminished. Only Zurich citizens were appointed as professors at the academy, and the impact of Zurich scholars and scholarship on what Erasmus called the Republic of Letters declined. The number of publications went down, and work of the local scholarly world seems to have become repetitious.

Philip Schaff has coined the term “period of consolidation” for this latter phase, and the term is still widely used to describe how the government and

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1 Pietro Martire Vermigli, *Loci Communes* (Zurich: Froschouer, 1580). For secondary literature, see Joseph C. McLelland and Jason Zuidema, *Peter Martyr's "Loci communes": A Literary History* (Montreal: Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, 2007).

people of Zurich settled slowly into their new Protestant faith after the war against the Catholic cantons ended in 1531.<sup>2</sup> Simplifying the complicated connections of church, politics, academy, and society in Zurich, Schaff connects the period of consolidation with the office of one figure, Heinrich Bullinger, named head of the Zurich Church after Zwingli in 1532. Consolidation, according to Schaff, signified putting to work the reform plans that Zwingli had created for Zurich and uniting those Swiss town parishes sympathetic to the reformation. Schaff extends the period of consolidation beyond Bullinger's death in 1575, into the time when Johann Jacob Breitingner was Antistes in Zurich from 1613 to 1645. Schaff overlooks the period between 1570, when Bullinger left his office, and 1613, when Breitingner was nominated. He did not see it as important for the development of the Christian Church in Zurich.

Schaff's view continues to prevail, not only among church historians, but also among historians in general. The second half of the sixteenth century has, as a result, remained understudied. In contributing towards filling this gap, this book maintains that the prevailing view in the literature seems to overlook important forces that were paving the way to form and change traditions in Zurich: in the academy, scholars executed new forms of teaching and also administrative record- and book-keeping; they reformulated their teaching disciplines; and they did important work on comparative and historic topics. In addition, their method of research shaped administration: the form of school records was innovative and novel, presenting the Zurich Lectorium as a self-contained intellectual network.

Today there is a tendency of Reformation historians to re-consider protestant reformation theology as an intellectual movement that included the foundation of schools and academies. Jordan J. Ballor, David S. Sytsma and Jason Zuidema in their edited volume *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* call the period between 1565 and roughly 1640 one of "Early Orthodoxy" and thus make it part of a continuous movement that began in 1565 with the third generation of reformed theologians and ended in 1790 with the period of late Orthodoxy at the aftermath of the French Revolution.<sup>3</sup> This use

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2 Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 1997). This material has been carefully compared, corrected, and amended (according to the 1910 edition of Charles Scribner's Sons) by The Electronic Bible Society of Dallas, TX in 1998. See Chapter VI: The Period of Consolidation, § 53. Literature, [http://www.ccel.org/a/schaff/history/8\\_cho6.htm#\\_edn1](http://www.ccel.org/a/schaff/history/8_cho6.htm#_edn1).

3 Ballor, Jordan J., David S. Sytsma, and Jason Zuidema, eds. *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological*

of the term “Orthodoxy” to characterize a historical period has done so purely in a theological context and refers to interpretations of biblical sources and the discussion of church dogma.<sup>4</sup> The systems of archiving and storing that I am researching in this book constitute a consolidation of knowledge that underpins the creation of an orthodox government.

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*Tradition*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions; Volume 170 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013): pp. 1–95: First Generation Reformers (ca. 1517–1535); pp. 95–224: Second Generation Reformers (ca. 1535–1565); pp. 225–502: Early Orthodoxy (ca. 1565–1640); pp. 503–697: High Orthodoxy (ca. 1640–1725); pp. 697–764: Late Orthodoxy (ca. 1725–1790).

- 4 See Christian Moser, “Reformed Orthodoxy in Switzerland,” *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy*, ed. H.J. Selderhuis. Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 40 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 195–226, who specified the Swiss periodization as 1565–1618 for the Early Orthodoxy; and Willem J. van Asselt, “Reformed Orthodoxy: A Short History of Research,” *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy*, ed. H.J. Selderhuis. Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 40 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 11–26 for a general account.

## Sources and Methodological Considerations

Although this study examines the textual constitution of educational practice and seeks to find out how learning or promoting processes were organized and stored, the aim of the analysis is not to completely reconstruct all the activities of the Schola Tigurina. Therefore the study does not present school or university history in a traditional manner. Rather it seeks to show how dealing with young people was officially recorded and whether or not basic patterns of behaviour or norms of school justice arose from this continual recording.

Emphasizing a philological approach to records and books, this study follows the methods and modes of analysis used by scholars, such as Anthony Grafton, Ann Blair, and William Sherman to deal with practices of scholarship and the transfer of knowledge, although these scholars have not identified themselves with a specific theoretical approach. In a review of Grafton's work in the *New York Review of Books*, Keith Thomas summarized the field which Grafton has built up and diversified with numerous studies in the last three decades, as the history of classical scholarship from “its beginnings in fourteenth-century Italy” up to “its culmination in nineteenth-century Germany.”<sup>1</sup> Thomas characterized Grafton as primarily answering the need for:

detailed monographs that would come to grips with the practice of scholarship itself by analysing the working methods and achievements of individual textual critics, epigraphers, numismatists, archaeologists, and historians. The habits and conventions of scholarly life—reading, writing, publishing, and reviewing—had to be reconstructed and fitted into a larger social and intellectual context.

Thomas called this a “formidable task, which could only be attempted by those who combined the broad perspective of the cultural historian with the technical skills of the classical scholar.” This field has grown during the last thirty years. Today, historians think that this philologically framed history of learning in the early modern period has to comprise not only classical studies but also changes and new approaches in natural philosophy and medical studies.

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<sup>1</sup> Keith Thomas, “Heroes of History,” review of *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation*, by Anthony Grafton, *New York Times Review of Books* (13 March 2003).

Significantly, there is also a re-evaluation of the influence of teaching itself on the ways and means of organizing and dealing with new knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

Memorizing techniques were crucial for the history and culture of knowledge especially prior to the invention of the printing press. In her 2010 book *Too Much to Know*, Ann Blair has given an account of the different techniques of scholarly cross referencing, storing away, and retrieving information, thus shedding light on a materially evidenced new way of looking at the transformation and transmission of knowledge.<sup>3</sup> Building up referencing skills started at school, with individually kept notebooks and textbook marginal notes of students. The connection between reading and writing, or reusing information, might have been adapted by every scholar according to his or her own terms, or might have been learned according to general rules; both of these responses have been suggested by William Sherman in his close look into the notation techniques of individual scholars.<sup>4</sup>

Historians do not know much about how teachers and students worked together in schools, private homes, and universities. This would have been important: on the one hand, early modern textbooks and lecture presentations were not only pre-digested abbreviations of canonical knowledge, they were also publications by learned men with certain skills in gaining and organizing knowledge; on the other hand, students became the next generation of learned men, provided—possibly in school—with these skills. A close look at school texts written and discussed by scholars, whether filled with administrative contents or with their own ideas about scholarship, sheds light on the achievement of these skills and their role in gaining and transforming knowledge.

The concept of education in the sixteenth century was generally quite broad. It included considerations of child-rearing and schooling as well as the formative process of an individual in all its social complexity. Education in school systems was therefore only one part of the process, which ultimately resulted in entry to the communities that determined or shaped adult life. In the sixteenth century, these communities were formed by the church, the town, professional guilds, and the family. The present book focuses on concepts in public education in this atmosphere of religion and humanism—how such

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2 See also the more recent study of Jacob Soll, “The Grafton Method, or the Science of Tradition,” in Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), vol. 2, pp. 1018–32.

3 Blair, *Too Much to Know*.

4 Sherman, *Used Books*, 3–5 (school training), 76 (individual marking of the Bible), 119 (John Dee’s most consistent features).

concepts were formed, what reasoning stood behind them, and what ways of communication and action they took.

My approach departs from a long-standing tradition of German historiography that deploys macro concepts to interpret early modern history, of which the most important is the paradigm of confessionalization coined and developed by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard in the 1970s.<sup>5</sup> My object is not to develop abstract categories across religious faiths but to investigate through different types of sources the way in which a specific confession worked in a discrete environment.<sup>6</sup>

### Colleges and Academies in Early Modern Europe

In the secondary literature about colleges and academies in early modern Europe, the first question is usually dedicated to the town regime and its guidance and interference in scholarly policy, especially concerning finances, the politics of school access, curricula, and exams. After that, researchers usually dedicate a section of their books to the teachers, their work and intellectual reach and how they managed the many small decisions of daily school life. Students are generally not mentioned as individuals. In a third section, the curricula are scrutinized together with the names of textbooks to determine developments and changes in the readings.

5 Cf. Heinz Schilling, "'Konfessionsbildung' und 'Konfessionalisierung'—ein Literaturbericht," in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 42 (1991): 447–63, 779–94. See also André Holenstein's very astute overview on political historiography about early modern Switzerland: André Holenstein "Politische Geschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft und der Helvetischen Republik," *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, no. 1 (2013): 49–87, here pp. 58–59, 61–62.

6 As demonstrated in the work of Erica Rummel, who wrote within the North American tradition, notions of confessionalization can be used in a pragmatic way that deliberately avoids structural comparison. See Erica Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Structural comparison is also left behind by more recent approaches to the phenomena of confessional conflict that emphasize a cultural and territorial view on political history of the confessions, such as Daniela Hacke, "Church, Space and Conflict: Religious Coexistence and Political Communication in Seventeenth-Century Switzerland," *German History* 25, no. 3 (2007): 285–312; Ulrich Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen, Glaubenspraxis und Konflikt in Graubünden, 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag GmbH, 2012); Francisca Loetz, "Bridging the Gap: Confessionalisation in Switzerland," in André Holenstein, Thomas Maissen, Maarten Prak, eds., *The Republican Alternative: The Netherlands and Switzerland compared* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 75–98.



A very recent example of this general approach is the excellent study of Karine Crousaz on the Lausanne academy.<sup>7</sup> In her book, she captures the early years of this school in the town setting from its foundation ca. 1537, just one year after Lausanne came under the dominion of Berne. Crousaz ends with the first exodus of the school's instructors in 1558/9, when they went to teach at the newly founded academy of Geneva. In her introduction, she sheds light on the politics of the city and of its relations with Berne, placing them in the context of broader religious and educational developments in Europe. She methodically examines the infrastructure of the academy, its laws and finances, and the people working in it, the professors and the students. Her last chapter is devoted to the practices of education, starting with the formal procedures, from enrolment to exams, through teaching methods, to the idea of good living in which students were nurtured and trained at the academy. In a series of appendices, she has also transcribed and translated sample letters and school documents and provided short biographies of the main actors.

From a larger perspective, such secondary literature has not yet made clear to what degree colleges and universities were partners in the production of knowledge for the next generation. What is missing is the analysis of information transfer, including the different methods of gathering and storing it to the means of spreading of information and ideas around Europe and beyond academic settings. How and why methods changed and how teachers collaborated with each other are not recorded.

Given my focus on information transfer, I begin with an example of Zurich record keeping. The Zurich methods of common placing were applied not only to scholarly work but were used by individual scholars for their bookkeeping. In 1559/1560, in the aftermath of the foundation of the Genevan Academy, and maybe out of a kind of Swiss rivalry, the lectorium in Zurich got new regulations, including a new scheme of administration. The head of the school was to change every year, later every two years, elected by the lectorium staff, consisting of professors, teachers, and ministers of the Grossmünster Stift, the independent financial administration of the schools. Staff would meet regularly about every two weeks. Each administrative head of the lectorium was required to write the minutes of these meetings in his own hand. The *Staatsarchiv* in Zurich has kept all school records from their beginnings in 1560 to 1804,

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7 Karine Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme (ca. 1537–1560)*, vol. 41, *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012). See also my review, Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Review: Karine Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre Humanisme et Réforme (ca. 1537–1560)*, *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2012)," *History of Universities* (2014): 176–80.

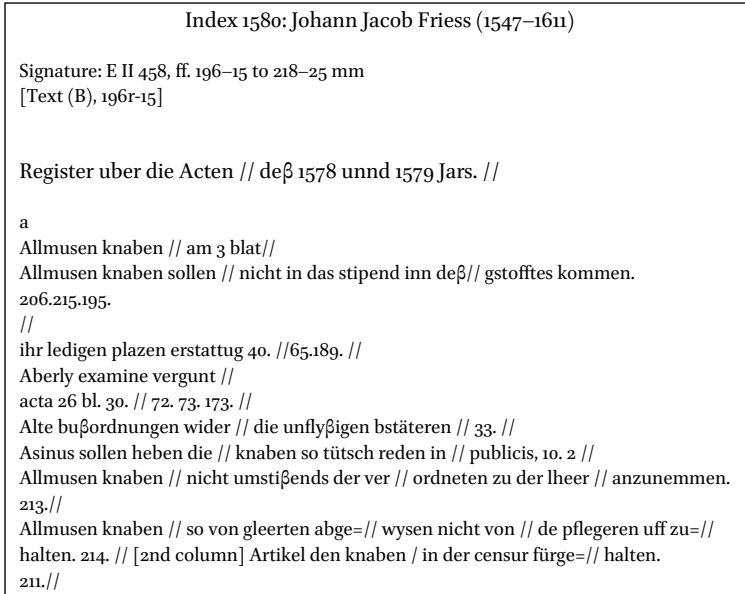


FIGURE 6 *Johann Jacob Friess, Index (1580). StAZ E II 458, f. 196r–15*

when the school was secularized. Between 1578 and 1580, the theology professor Johann Jacob Friess (1547–1611) was the elected head of the lectorium.<sup>8</sup> In 1580, he wrote a vast index of keywords for the administration of public education at Zurich (see fig. 6 and Appendix 11).<sup>9</sup>

In doing so, Friess not only crowned his work—a two-year chronological documentation of school board meetings—but also succeeded in making the minutes more easily accessible to the theologian Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586), who was elected to succeed him as administrative director for the next two-year term a week after Easter in 1580.

This index of the school minutes was the first and the last ever made during the 244 years that the school board kept minutes. These minutes, first recorded in 1560, were enhanced for the two years from 1578 to 1580 with an index that provided subsequent readers with a tool to help them locate information in the yearly minutes. Although Friess's index details the two years of 1578 and

8 *Biographie ancienne et moderne...*, vol. 16 (Paris: Michaud, 1816), 69.

9 Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich/Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich (StAZ), E II 458: *Acta Scholastica*, 1560–1592, f. 189r–1 to 319r–221 (13 April 1578 to 19 April 1580). The index is on folia 196r–15 to 218–25.m. See for a full transcription Appendix 11.

1580, he also referred to other and earlier parts of the existing minutes where binding agreements over school rule-changes were recorded. Under the influence of Friess, the minutes evolved from a compilation of quickly made notes to an elaborate reference book. This was due to a certain way of producing and storing knowledge that was used in Zurich from the 1540s on, associated with the library catalogues organized by theology professor Konrad Pellicanus and the encyclopaedias compiled by the town physician and lecturer in philosophy, Conrad Gessner. The elaboration was not continued later on.

The range of authors of textbooks and reference books, such as the one Friess devised, and the range of those with administrative powers at universities overlapped considerably: about 70 or 80 per cent of textbook authors in Zurich were also responsible for what happened in the academy. Thorough research on textbooks has shown that sixteenth-century textbooks used in colleges, academies, and universities were often produced within the academy itself and varied from those written and read at other places. Though reference books and treatises written by teachers and students circulated more generally in the Republic of Letters, notebooks recorded local responses to classroom teaching.

To look at developments through a detailed and careful scrutiny of textbooks can reveal how knowledge was produced and developed over a period of time in a specific region. This regional knowledge can then be set in relation to other regions and their protagonists—students and professors—as well as those regions' connections to other parts of Europe.

One type of textbook, the commentary, was especially important in developing methods to handle and to produce information. Commentaries were often the former students' lecture notes, now presented in book format. This can be studied in the Strasbourg textbooks from the 1550s: lecture scripts of former students, such as Martin Crusius, were printed, and one method of transcription—common placing the arguments heard under headings in notebooks—was especially dominant in later print, connected to the next generation of teachers who had in their youth studied with Johannes Sturm in Strasbourg.<sup>10</sup> There are not many places where the archive is as rich as in Zurich where not only published textbooks, commentaries, treatises, and reference books continue to survive in the library but the old school reports are still preserved in their entirety in the archives.

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10 See Goeing, "Martin Crusius' Verwendung."

## Zurich and the Production and Transfer of Knowledge

My analysis of the Zurich Lectorium provides a good glimpse into what influence the school had on the shaping and spread of knowledge. In the course of the Reformation, and encouraged by the humanist erudition of the early Republic of Letters, the school was intended to provide a painstaking and accurate translation of the Bible. For this purpose, Zwingli attracted excellent theological and linguistic experts to stay in Zurich as lecturers. The school was also responsible for the formation of a town elite that would be able to communicate in Latin eloquently. This would enable them to discuss European politics and new knowledge as equals to any town elite in Europe. A third concrete task of the lectorium was the training of ministers for the rural parishes in and around Zurich who could impart the reformed belief to the people. A deeper insight into the interconnections of these three objectives is gleaned by examining distinct types of sources with their own traditions, so as to investigate parallel developments within a narrow time span, the core years immediately after the establishment of the new school regulations in 1559/1560.

Viewed from a European perspective, the formation and education of the young generation in Zurich enabled them to participate actively in the wider Republic of Letters, the community of erudite scholars, especially in German-speaking lands, England, and Switzerland. The study of this generation is therefore important not only for understanding specific developments in Zurich but also the processes by which a larger net of communication developed, one that was to form the basis for erudition for the next 200 years.

Although Zurich was part of a larger Republic of Letters, the content and method of scholarly instruction in Zurich were different from what was taught in Wittenberg, Heidelberg, or Strasbourg, and even in Basel at the same time. With the same classical sources, the teachers referred to different teaching materials, often texts that were produced in-house. For example, in Strasbourg after 1550, unlike in Zurich, the students published their class notes, particularly from their lessons with Johannes Sturm. The students' notes became the new textbooks.<sup>1</sup> This implies that school tradition was transferred by personal

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Crusius is not the only one, but he is significant. Later, Loci-collections predominate the transcribed notes. See Martin Crusius, *Martini Crusii Scholia in primam secundam, ac*

connection between teachers and their former students who then became teachers at their alma mater.

Did the different means of transfer and production of knowledge, teaching, and contents of publications and their means of distribution produce different sorts of Protestantism, a different understanding of the Bible, or a different understanding of classical literature? The relationship between teaching and the production of knowledge and the sermons of ministers and the religious community should be considered anew. Theology published and taught in the Zurich Lectorium from 1560 was certainly different from the early reformation literature, and the research presented in the present book will show the shifts within theology that happened in the 1560s, from rewriting the older generations' interpretations of the Bible to humanist explorations of classical studies on daily life.

As we have seen, when a Bible that includes an index is brought on the market, then it is possible that this index encourages people to use the Bible in a specific way. The index refers to specific citations offering relief for problems that people have in the present: how to rule a state or how to lead a virtuous life, for example. As long as the index does not change, and as long as the Bible is the instrument to solve such problems, the religious community continues to use the Bible loci, as was the case in Zurich after 1540. These indexes remained constant for decades and sustained a different understanding of Protestantism in Zurich from that in Wittenberg or Basel.

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My opening discussion in Part 1 surveys developments in sixteenth-century Swiss politics, education, and administration. After a general overview, I focus in this part on what makes the lectorium in Zurich an ideal case study for this investigation of scholarly practices. Introduction and Part 1 connect the older history of academies and the newer history of the book.

The next part focuses on the Zurich school statutes that were first enacted in 1559/1560. In general, European school regulations were embodied in different types of statutes with different goals and functions. *Printed* school regulations were the most common format. Such regulations offered a carefully crafted insight into teaching and general educational aims and might also have served as an advertisement to future students and to erudite contemporaries. However, the Zurich regulations did not belong to this type. Their manuscript

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*tertiam Virgilii Eclogam Sturmiana* (Strasbourg: Fabricius, 1556). See also Goeing, "Martin Crusius' Verwendung."

*form* resembled that of other legal acts of the Zurich town government. But their *content* was closer to many Protestant school regulations than to university statements. The similarities with the Zurich town government papers and Protestant school regulations suggest that the behavioural patterns desired for the students also drew on similarly mixed thoughts and ideas, partly originating in Zurich, and partly imported from the Protestant circles close to Philip Melancthon.

The third part examines the school minutes or school records that were kept from 1560 onward. It shows their use, content, and significance. It also shows the development of procedural elements: every week, the elected administrative director met with the professors to decide on school matters. In these meetings, disciplinary cases were judged according to the school regulations, exam results were recorded, and official letters were copied into the minutes. Thus a standardized and formulaic language can be reconstructed from these records, one that was in use for documenting and referring to specific students' affairs. A comparison with other school minutes shows that the depth of information on students found in the Zurich minutes was unique in Europe.

The fourth part examines pedagogical materials, such as textbooks, student notes, and lecture scripts, that were used at the lectorium. A broad variety of internationally renowned textbooks and reference books was created in Zurich, among them the Hebrew grammar of Theodor Bibliander (1535), the Greek grammar of Jacobus Ceperinus (1525), and the *Loci Communes* of Pietro Martyr Vermigli (in print only after his death, from 1576). The professor of physics and ethics, Conrad Gessner, produced many encyclopaedias between 1540 and 1565. His work on *De Anima* was planned as a textbook and printed in 1563. To contextualize this textbook and put it into a classroom setting, I will compare it to Gessner's lecture scripts as a case study of Gessner's teaching of Aristotelian physics. Teaching in the years from 1560 to 1580 relied heavily on the practices introduced during these foundation years.

The concluding part will address the question of how representative the Zurich Schola Tigurina was as a European theological seminary. Finally, I discuss the changing dynamics of scholarly information management in post-Reformation Zurich.

**PART 1**

*Swiss Town Politics, Education, and Administration  
in the Sixteenth Century*







## Swiss Town Politics, Higher Education, and Notions of Administration, Storage, and Order after the Reformation

The Holy Scripture has, alas, its flesh and its spirit / the flesh is futile / the spirit however vivifies.

ANON. (1534)<sup>1</sup>

How did political and administrative developments in sixteenth-century Switzerland affect educational reforms? This question does not lend itself to a simple, general answer because paradoxically the political alliances made amongst the Swiss towns and regions to form the Swiss Confederation were designed not to achieve uniformity but to enable individual places to perpetuate their local traditions.<sup>2</sup> Thus Zurich's politics and education was like that of other places only in having a unique local configuration. To explain what happened in Zurich in education, it is important to know more about the Swiss Confederation, as it was Zurich's immediate political context. In the sixteenth century, the urban parts of the confederation and allied cities had, one after the other, established new temples of learning, academies, and gymnasia that taught the inhabitants about the *artes liberales*, with a reformed theology as the centrepiece of their curricula.

After the University of Basel was founded by Pope Pius II and officially opened on 4 April 1460, other cantons imitated this practice of introducing more youth to the *artes liberales* and other parts of university education.<sup>3</sup> They renovated their Latin schools and introduced another level of schooling with specialized teaching that went beyond traditional instruction in Latin. These educational reforms started with Zurich, which laid its plans in 1523, implemented through church funds in 1525, and overhauled in 1532, 1537, and 1560.

1 "Es hat die heylige gschrift auch jr fleysch vnd jren geyst / das fleysch ist nichts nütz / der geist aber macht la<e>bendig." *Bibel teütsch* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1534), printer mark \*\*ijj.

2 See Andreas Würgler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen: Politik, Kommunikation und Symbolik einer repräsentativen Institution im europäischen Kontext (1470–1798)*, *Frühneuzeit-Forschungen* 19 (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca-Academica-Verl., 2013), 20–29.

3 Richard Cavendish, "The University of Basel Founded," *History Today* 60, no. 4 (2010), accessed 5 June 2015, <http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/university-basel-founded>.

Berne, Strasbourg, and Lausanne followed suit.<sup>4</sup> These innovations culminated in the academy that Jean Calvin and Theodore Beza established in Geneva in 1559, with teachers mainly drawn from Lausanne. Institutes of higher education were also later established in the urban Catholic parts of Switzerland, such as Fribourg and Lucerne.

Underpinning these similar educational reforms among the different cantons and their allies was a long and gradual history of political cooperation and alliance. Beginning in the thirteenth century, and over the next two hundred years, thirteen cantons or German *Orte* gradually formed the Swiss Confederacy, a league to help each other fight against Austrian attempts at domination. After their remarkable victories in the Swabian War in Germany and the War of the Engadin in Austria of 1499, Swiss towns and regions were finally able to sever their ties to the House of Habsburg (and thus to the Holy Roman Empire).

The Swiss Confederation was founded in 1291, or, according to Renaissance sources, in 1307, by an alliance formed between three rural mountain regions in the heart of Switzerland: Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden (which today is separated into Nid- and Obwalden).<sup>5</sup> Lucerne, to the north of the three founding cantons, joined in 1332, soon followed by Zurich (1351), Zug (1352), and Glarus (1352) in the north of Switzerland and Berne in the west (1353). Over a century later, in 1481, both Fribourg and Solothurn (1481) became part of the confederacy, followed, after the Swabian war, by the Free Imperial City of Basel (1501), Schaffhausen (1501), and the rural region of Appenzell (1513).<sup>6</sup> Geneva in

4 Cf. Ulrich Im Hof, "Die Entstehung der reformierten Hohen Schule. Zurich (1525)—Bern (1528)—Lausanne (1537)—Genf (1559)," in *Beiträge zu Problemen deutscher Universitätsgründungen der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Baumgart and Notker Hammerstein, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 4 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1978), 243–58 and Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, Introduction. An excellent recent summary of the educational situation in 16th century Switzerland provides Karin Maag, "Schools and Education, 1500–1600," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation*, ed. Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 72 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 520–541.

5 The Ruetlischwur, oath of the confederation, was dated by the two humanists Aegidius Tschudi and Josias Simmler 1307–1308, who both lived in the sixteenth century. The actual federal charter between the three rural cantons of 1291, now with online picture and transcription at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal\\_Charter\\_of\\_1291](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_Charter_of_1291) (accessed 6 June 2015), was only (re-) discovered in the 18th century. For a critical review, see Oliver Zimmer, "Competing Memories of the Nation: Liberal Historians and the Reconstruction of the Swiss Past 1870–1900," *Past & Present*, no. 168 (1 August 2000): 194–226.

6 Georg Schmidt, *Der Städtetag in der Reichsverfassung. Eine Studie zur korporativen Politik der Freien und Reichsstädte in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 112 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984), 39–46. Most of the literature about the old Swiss Confederation relies on work that the Glarus historian Aegidius Tschudi (1505–1572) published or left in his legacy and his letters to fellow historians.

the southwest, the town with arguably the greatest impact on the Protestant Reformation and its aftermath, was an allied town. Bernhard Stettler records that Geneva applied for entry into the Swiss Confederacy in 1557, which was not granted.<sup>7</sup>

### Simmler's *De Republica Helvetiorum* (1576) and the Evolution of the Confederacy

The best way to understand the evolution and political administration of the Swiss Confederacy is through an examination of the book by the Zurich professor of theology, Josias Simmler, about the regimes of Switzerland. Although scarcely treated in the secondary literature, Simmler's book about the regimes of Switzerland is one of the most illuminating comparative analyses of Swiss government structure as well as one of the most comprehensive accounts of the politics of the Swiss Confederacy.<sup>8</sup>

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His main work was the *Chronicon Helveticum*, written in its manuscript version from 1534 to 1536 and published for the first time by Johann Rudolf Iselin in Basel between 1734 and 1736. Bernhard Stettler has critically edited the *Chronicon* according to the manuscripts: Aegidius Tschudi, *Chronicon Helveticum Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, bearbeitet von Bernhard Stettler*. 13 Hauptbände, 2 Ergänzungsbände, 4 Registerbände, 3 Bände Hilfsmittel. Quellen zur Schweizergeschichte, hg. von der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Geschichte, Neue Folge, I. Abteilung: Chroniken (Berne: Selbstverlag der Allgemeinen Geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz, 1968–2001). For recent literature, see the bibliographies in Bernhard Stettler, *Die Eidgenossenschaft im 15. Jahrhundert. Die Suche nach einem gemeinsamen Nenner* (Menziken: M. Widmer-Dean, 2004), 396–410, and Andreas Würigler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen*. For an overview on the history of Switzerland see also the well-written textbook Jonathan Steinberg, *Why Switzerland?* Third Edition (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>7</sup> See Stettler, *Die Eidgenossenschaft im 15. Jahrhundert*, 389.

<sup>8</sup> Andreas Würigler was the first to dedicate to Simmler's treatise and its afterlife an entire section of more than three pages. Würigler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen*, 456–58. For more information on Simmler's activities as historian of theology see Mark Taplin, "Patristics and Polemic: Josias Simmler's History of Early Church Christological Disputes," *Following Zwingli: Applying the Past in Reformation Zurich*, ed. Luca Baschera and Bruce Gordon. (Burlington: Routledge, 2014), 42–80.

I will cite from these two editions: Josias Simmler, *DE REPVB=||LICA HELVETIORVM || Libri Duo, Auctore IOSIA || SIMLERO Tigurino. || DESCRIBITVR VERO IN HIS || Libris Non Tantum Communis Totius Heluetae Po||litia, et Singulorum Pagorum Respub. Verume=||tiam Foederum Omnium Origo et Conditiones Ex||ponuntur, et Res Gestae À Temporibus Rodolphi || Imp. Vsque Ad Carolum V. Imp. Breuiter Narran||tur ... ||* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer dJ., 1576); Josias Simmler, *Regiment Gemeiner Loblicher Eydgnoschafft...Von newem übersehen...* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1576).

TABLE 1 *Editions of Josias Simmler's Regimes of Switzerland*

## Latin:

SIMMLER, Josias. *DE REPVB=||LICA HELVETIORVM || Libri Duo, Auctore IOSIA || SIMLERO Tigurino.|| DESCRIBITVR VERO IN HIS || Libris Non Tantum Communis Totius Helvetiae Po/||litia, et Singulorum Pagorum Respub. Verume=||tiam Foederum Omnium Origo et Conditiones Ex||ponuntur, et Res Gestae À Temporibus Rodolphi || Imp. Vsque Ad Carolum V.Imp. Breuiter Narran/||tur ... ||* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer d.J., 1576).

———. *DE REPVB-||LICA HELVETIORVM || Libri Duo, Auctore IOSIA || SIMLERO Tigurino.|| DESCRIBITVR VERO IN HIS || Libris Non Tantum Communis Totius Helvetiae Po=||litia, et Singulorum Pagorum Respub. Verume=||tiam Foederum Omnium Origo et Conditiones Ex-||ponuntur, et Res Gestae À Temporibus Rodolphi || Imp. Vsque Ad Carolum V.Imp. Breuiter Narran-||tur ... ||* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer d.J., 1577).

———. *De Helvetiorum Republica, Pagis, Foederatis, Stipendiariis Oppidis, Praefecturis, Foederibus Tum Domesticis, Eorumque Origine Ac Legibus, Tum Externis, Pagorumque Singulorum Privata Reipublicae Ratione, Libri Duo. Quibus Etiam Helvetiorum Res Gestae, Domi Forisque, a Rodolphi Ad Caroli V. Imperium Exponuntur ...* (Paris: du Puys, 1577).

———. *Respublica Helvetiorum Hoc Est Exacta Tum Communis Totius Helvetiae, & Singulorum Pagorum, Politiae: Tum Rerum Ab Inito Foedere Gestarum, Descriptio* (Zurich: Officina Wolphiana, 1608).

GUILLIMANNUS, Franciscus, Oswald Myconius, Henricus Loriti GLAREANUS, Josias SIMMLER, and Daniel L'HERMITE. *Helvetiorvm Respvblica. Diversorvm Autorum, Quorum Nonnulli Nunc Primum in Lucem Prodeunt.* (Leiden: Officina Elzeviriana, 1627).

SIMMLER, Josias. *De Republica Helvetiorum Libri Duo, In Quibus Helvetiorum Foedera, Mores, Belli et Pacis Jura, Totamque Illorum Rempublicam Summa Fide Describit: Adjunctum Est Compendium Historiae Helveticae Antiquae.* Edited by Johann Konrad Füssli (Zurich: Orelli, 1734).

## Netherlandish:

———. *Josias Simmler's Republyck van Suitserland: Vertaalt Door Martin Everart* ([S.l.], 1613).

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French:

———. *La Repvblique Des Svisses: Comprinse En Deux Liures, Contenans Le Gouuernement de Suisse, L'estat Public Des Treize Catons ... & Autres Gestes Memorables, Depuis l'Empereur Raoul de Habsbourg Iusques À Charles Le Quint*. Edited by Innocent Gentillet (Genève: Chupin & LePreux, 1577).

———. *La Repvblique Des Svisses: Comprinse En Deux Liures, Contenans Le Gouuernement de Suisse, L'estat Public Des Treize Cantons & de Leurs Confe-derez, En General & En Particulier, Leurs Bailliages & Iurisdicions, L'origine & Les Conditios de Toutes Leurs Alliances, Leurs Batailles, Victoirs, Conquestes & Autres Gestes Memorables, Depuis l'Empereur Raoul de Habsbourg Iusques À Charles Le Quint*. (Anvers: Iacques Henrycx, 1580).

———. *La Repvblique Des Svisses: Comprinse En Deux Liures, Contenans Le Gouuernement de Suisse, L'estat Public Des Treize Cantons & de Leurs Confe-derez En General & Particuliere ... Depuis l'Empereur Rodolphe de Habsbourg À Charles Le Quint*. Cinqviesme Edition, Reveue Et augmentee ... (Genève: Cartier, 1607).

———. *La Repvblique Des Svisses: Comprinse En Deux Liures, Contenas Le Gouuernement de Suisses, L'estat Public Des Treize Cantons & de Leurs Confederez En General & Particulier, Leurs Bailliages & Iurisdicions ...* 6th ed., Reveve Et nouvellement augmentée à la fin de quelques particularitez: Specialement d'vne Exhortation & d'vn Quatrain aux Suisses, pour leur conseruation (Genève: Planchant, 1639).

German:

———. *Regiment Gemeiner Loblicher Eydggnoschaft: ... Von newem über-sehen ...* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1576).

———. *Regiment Gemeiner Loblicher Eydggnoschaft: ... Von newem über-sehen ...* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1577).

———. *Regiment Gemeiner Loblicher Eydggnoschaft: Beschrieben Un in Zwey Bücher Gestellet*. Jetzo aber von newem übersehen/ und an vielen orten gemehret/ und mit schönen Figuren gezieret (Zurich: [s.n.], 1602).

TABLE 1 *Editions of Josias Simmler's Regimes of Switzerland (cont.)*


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———. *Regiment Gemeiner Loblicher Eydgenosschafft*. Jetzo aber von newem vbersehen/ vnnd an vielen orten gemehret vnd mit schönen Figuren gezieret : In diesen Büchern wirt nicht allein beschrieben das Regiment gemeiner Eydtgnoschafft in gemein/ vnnd auch der Orten vnd Zügewandten insonderheit (Zurich: [s.n.], 1610).

———. *Von Dem Regiment Loblicher Eidgnoschafft Zwey Bücher: Da Das Erste Begreiffet Der Buendtnussen Vrsprung Conditionen Und Hauptartickel ... Bis Auff Das Jahr 1565. Das Ander Buch Aber Handlet von Den Sitten, Gebräuchen Und von Dem Regiment Der Eidgnoschafft Ins Gemein, Und Der Orten Besonderbar*. Zum offtern mal auffgelegt, vnd jetz von newen vbersehen ... (Zurich: Bodmer, 1645).

———. *Von Dem Regiment Der Lobl. Eydgenosschafft: Zwey Bücher; In Deren Ersterem Ein Kurtzgefaßte Politische Historie Der Helvetisch- Und Eydgenössischen Sachen, Nebst Einer Nachricht von Der Eydgenossen Unter Sich Selbst Und Mit Frömden Fürsten Und Staaten Gemachten Bündnussen Ursprung, Beschaffenheit Und Haubt-Articuln ; In Dem Anderen Aber Eine Beschreibung Der Eydgenossen Fridens- Und Kriegs-Uebungen*. Edited by Hans Jacob Füssli Leu and Michael Kauffer (Zurich: Geßner, 1722).

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Simmler, the Zurich professor of the Old Testament, published *De Republica Helvetiorum* in 1576. It came out as a volume of about 520 pages in Latin and in the vernacular languages of French and German; in English, its title translates as *The Regimes of Switzerland*. (Table 1) The book is not written as a chronicle but as an analytical treatise that delivers important insights into cantonal law and hierarchies of governmental power and communication. The book surpasses its eminent precursors, works of Swiss history by Simmler's older academic friends, Anton Tschudi from Glarus and Christoph Stumpf from Basel, who had mapped out the old Helvetian territories and thus given Switzerland a new country name, Helvetia, with its Roman boundaries. Simmler went further by comparing contemporary inner structures and laws of the confederacy towns.

*The Regimes of Switzerland* has two parts: the first a historical account and the second a systematic perspective. In the first part, Simmler provides a chronology of the development of the confederacy, starting from its legendary beginning through the victory over the Habsburgs in 1499 and the late entries

of Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501 and Appenzell in 1513. In Part 2, however, he systematically describes war exercises that towns performed together and outlined the few governmental arrangements that the allied cantons decided upon at representatives' meetings, the *Tagsatzungen* or *Tagleistungen*.<sup>9</sup> He then compares the different governments, governmental rites, and legal systems of the cantons belonging to the confederacy as well as those of those cantons allied to the confederacy, such as the Imperial City of St Gallen.

Simmler dedicated his book to the governors of the Imperial City of St. Gallen.<sup>10</sup> In 1576, St Gallen, which had adopted the Protestant faith as early as 1525, was a close allied city-state of the confederacy.<sup>11</sup> It was an especially close ally of Simmler's native Zurich. But it was also a Protestant city surrounded by the vast Catholic territories of Alte Landschaft and Grafschaft Toggenburg of the Imperial Abbey of St. Gallen, whose abbot was actively supporting the Counter-Reformation actions of the recently convened Council of Trent.<sup>12</sup> It is reasonable to infer that Simmler's dedication was intended to encourage the beleaguered city to trust in what he portrayed as a strong and conservative alliance interested in maintaining the existing political and religious differences.

Simmler does not begin his account of the confederacy with the legendary story of William Tell's resistance to the oppressive rule of Habsburg that mobilized the regions of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schwytz to fight against the empire. Instead he prefaces this famous story with a much older document from 1251 that established a three-year alliance between Uri, Schwytz, and Zurich, roughly fifty years before the official founding alliance of the confederacy and a hundred years before Zurich joined it. He shows that already the old alliance was an oath between the towns to protect, advise, and help each other against intrusion from the outside.<sup>13</sup> According to Simmler, the Swiss burghers were angered by the conduct of the lords, who pressed them for taxes while treating them with disrespect. This section of Simmler's work not only explained the

9 In *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen*, Würzler analyses the records kept from 1470 to 1798 in a quantitative fashion. He describes the frequency of the meetings, gives information about who came together, and discusses the topics that were decided upon, based on the documents.

10 Simmler, *Regiment*, 2r; Josias Simmler, *De Republica Helvetiorum* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1576), 2r.

11 Gallus Jakob Baumgartner, *Geschichte des Schweizerischen Freistaates und Kantons St. Gallen. Mit besonderer Beziehung auf Entstehung, Wirksamkeit und Untergang des Fürstlichen Stiftes St. Gallen*, vol. 1 (Zurich and Stuttgart: Woerlsche Verlagshandlung, 1868), 62–66.

12 Baumgartner, *Geschichte des Schweizerischen*, 79–81.

13 Simmler, *Regiment*, 15v–16v; Simmler, *De Republica*, 6r–7r.

motives behind the decision to fight for independence but also made available to the reader transcriptions and translations of the most important documents concerning the legal grounds of the confederacy. In his time, this was an important innovation in writing this history because it enabled him to connect the agreement of 1251 to a vernacular German version of the founding charter of 1315, which was accepted by Emperor Ludwig at the Nuremberg Reichstag on 23 March 1316.<sup>14</sup>

Recognizing the originality of Simmler's way of grounding the origins of the confederacy in legal documents, the German scholar of international law Ernst Reibstein hailed Simmler's work in 1949 as the first report ever made about the "legitimacy of the genesis of the confederacy."<sup>15</sup> He was full of awe about Simmler's insight, which he interpreted as the assertion of the principle of legitimacy by imperial law ("Prinzip der reichsrechtlichen Legitimität").<sup>16</sup>

Simmler describes how the alliances between the towns and rural regions were primarily intended to exclude common enemies—to cope with an external threat. Thus the confederacy was not thought of as a governing body with the power to unify the cantons under one head with a central administration. Rather, how towns and rural regions were governed remained diverse over the centuries.

According to Simmler, the confederacy had to be seen as a federal alliance of support against intrusion from the outside. Since 1351, the confederation's leader had been the town of Zurich, which was its largest city. In emphasizing that the differing regions did not form a confederacy to unify administration or forms of government and law, Simmler noted that, even though Zurich had a town council consisting of twelve different guilds, it would help Berne fighting against people who would want to set up a similarly guild-based town council.

Tom Brady argued in 1978 with his study *Turning Swiss*, Southern Germany Free Imperial Cities saw and envied the Swiss Confederacy because they were not ruled by a repressive nobility.<sup>17</sup> According to Simmler, however, the south German cities did not have all information and their view from the outside was only partially correct. Swiss cantons were governed in many different ways, including through aristocracies, but were aware of and sophisticated about their differences and wanted to stay that way. Even though representatives of the

14 Simmler, *Regiment*, 37v–16v; Simmler, *De Republica*, 24r–25v.

15 Ernst Reibstein, *Respublica Helvetiorum: die Prinzipien der eidgenössischen Staatslehre bei Josias Simler* (Berne: Haupt, 1949), 47–48.

16 *Ibid.*, 56.

17 Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).



canton governments, separated into two confessionally different groups—the seven Catholic and five Protestant cantons—met regularly during the year and exchanged news about what happened in the different cantons' internal politics. But they did not try to unify the administration of the cantons.<sup>18</sup>

They did, however, set up some general regulations, such as those regarding the status and limited privileges of preachers (Pffaffenbrief 1370).<sup>19</sup> Andreas Würgler's 2013 study on the Swiss Tagsatzung, which took a fresh look at the yearly records from 1470 to 1798, corroborated Simmler's position: according to Würgler, the Tagsatzung had only very little legislative and almost no executive competence, but its activities nevertheless contributed to the symbolic consolidation of the confederation.<sup>20</sup>

Growing religious differences among the cantons, which Simmler, strangely enough, did not mention in his treatise, reinforced their diversity. Tensions arose in the 1520s when part of the confederacy became Protestant. After the Zurich Protestant minister and war leader Huldrych Zwingli died in an intra-confederation war over Protestantism in 1531, his successor, Heinrich Bullinger, attempted unsuccessfully in 1532 to convince the town council of Zurich to leave the confederacy. His argument was that the conservative Catholic five "Orte"—Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Schwyz, and Zug—had succeeded in suppressing the reformed belief.<sup>21</sup> Eventually, in the 1550s, shortly before the Council of Trent, the cantons started to treat each other with more tolerance over questions of religion, despite unpropitious circumstances. The flight of English protestants into Switzerland in the 1550s, fleeing Catholic persecution, and the influx of Huguenot immigrants to the Protestant French-speaking parts of Switzerland, such as Geneva and Lausanne, after the French bloodbath of Saint Bartholomew's night in 1572, underscored the Catholic threat, while the actions of the Council of Trent laid the foundations for a reformed Catholicism that would not only separate completely from Protestantism but would also fight actively against it. Nevertheless, government and law in the different cantons of Switzerland remained as it was before; local autonomy was preserved.

To describe the inner structures of different governments, Simmler developed two categories of analysis, the administrative body and the legal system.

18 Simmler, *Regiment*, 170v–172r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 132r–133r.

19 Simmler, *Regiment*, 174r–v; Simmler, *De Republica*, 134r–v.

20 Würgler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen*, 21.

21 André Holenstein, "Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagespolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger," in *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence. Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* 24, ed. Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2008), 177–232.

He separated the thirteen cantons into three different types.<sup>22</sup> First came the cantons with cities whose councils were made up of members of the different guilds; these were Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Basel, all of which closely resembled the government of the Free Imperial Cities of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>23</sup> Second were the cities that had an administration not consisting of guilds, such as Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solothurn, but with council members freely elected into the government.<sup>24</sup> Third were cantons without cities, comprising rural conglomerates of villages with a Landsgemeinde, such as Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, and Appenzell.<sup>25</sup> All three types had different sorts of head administrators: the guild government had a town major, the non-guild government a "Schultheiss," and the non-cities an "Ammann" or "Landammann."<sup>26</sup> This careful categorical system grouped similar structures under headings. To insure clarity, no matter the language in which Simmler's text was published, the key names such as the notion of "Ammann," were left untranslated from the German.

Simmler first explained similarities and differences of the governmental structure and then differences of the structure of the justice courts. In order to do this, he used a diagrammatical format, first of the thirteen cantons, then of some of the allied towns and rural regions, so-called "Landvogtei."<sup>27</sup> Among the allied towns, the city of St Gallen has the first place, followed by Grison, Wallis, Müllhausen, and Biel; the rural examples stem from Baden, Turgau, Sargans, Rheynthal, Freiherren von Hohensax, and four Italian-speaking regions in the mountains.<sup>28</sup> He noted, for example, that the duration of the different offices varied considerably in each canton but usually the head administrator was elected for a shorter period than the councillors. We also learn that the legal system, whatever its system of punishments and morality, roughly included three different courts: the marriage court, where all things concerning marriages were dealt with, and the only court where clerics were part of the justice body; the malefitz court, where bloodshed and other very serious offences were judged; and finally the monetary court for day-to-day affairs concerning

22 Simmler, *Regiment*, 182v–183r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 142r–v.

23 Simmler, *Regiment*, 182v–183r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 142r–v.

24 Simmler, *Regiment*, 182v–183r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 142r–v.

25 Simmler, *Regiment*, 182v–183r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 142r–v.

26 Simmler, *Regiment*, 182v–183r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 142r–v. Simmler also uses the German words "Bürgermeister" and "Ammann" in the Latin version and calls the *Schultheiss* in Latin a "Sculdetus."

27 Simmler, *Regiment*, 182v–220v.

28 Ibid., 220v–228r.

taxes and other economic problems. He noted all the combinations and fine separations that occurred, both within and between the courts of justice; he also examined the different relations of the judiciary and the governmental form of each canton and allied town and region.

Simmler's treatise was one among a growing number of advice treatises for state rulers within and outside of the Habsburg Empire. His account was a work of deep comparative empirical description rather than a prescriptive tract. Where the Habsburg advice literature was usually addressed to a living prince of a county in the Habsburg territory and was intended to educate and improve his government and conduct towards his people, Simmler wrote first and foremost as a historian interested in laying open some of the guiding rules and practices then current in the Swiss Confederacy.<sup>29</sup> Thus, he did not weigh his narrative according to principles of usability or morality, and he did not prefer one system of criminal law over another. His dedication of his treatise to the government of the city of St Gall epitomizes the type of influence that he wanted his learned studies to achieve. He provided information using marginal keywords so that his dedicatees could understand the historical and legislative developments that had shaped the status quo. He hoped that the much-travelled citizens of St Gall, bordering the Holy Roman Empire, would be able to explain the nature of authority in the Swiss cantons.

What Simmler's treatise clearly demonstrated was the variety of political arrangements in the individual cantons though he also showed that, despite these differences, they were able to collaborate effectively. In fact, the cantons shared a growing number of goals and interests, among them the reform of schools and recognition of the increasing demand for higher education.

Simmler criticized earlier educational practices, which emphasized the military arts. He disliked the famous Swiss militia education that dominated male character formation and led to war.<sup>30</sup> He saw the object of education as peace, which would be achieved by two means, the growth of the *artes liberales* and an increase in literacy. By the *artes liberales*, he meant an advanced education available in universities and also at some academies and the newly founded *gymnasia illustria*.<sup>31</sup> Simmler also hoped that the fostering of literacy in people

29 Cf. Thomas Simon, "Gute Policy": *Ordnungsleitbilder und Zielvorstellungen Politischen Handelns in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte Frankfurt Am Main (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2004).

30 Simmler, *Regiment*, 165v–166v; Simmler, *De Republica*, 127v–129r.

31 Simmler, *Regiment*, 165v–166v, 191r–v; Simmler, *De Republica*, 127v–129r, 150v–151r.

who were not university educated would at least enable them to read books in their native languages, even if not in Latin. He thought this was an important goal for all cantons, regardless of whether they were Protestant or Catholic.

Simmler gives us unique evidence of the role of higher education in the value system and government of the Swiss cantons. To understand how church, humanism, and politics were linked together in different Swiss cantons, and what the position of Zurich was, it is important to scrutinize the role of education and how the newly founded institutions of higher learning were integrated into the town political structure. It is common knowledge that Renaissance humanism saw the emergence of a so-called new elite of scholars, who, as lawyers and administrators, played an active part in government. But we know much less about how those writing books and administering a country developed and exchanged learned methods and procedures for keeping memory active, for example, by organizing legal or scholarly documents. The development, planning, and use of archives have only just begun to be the objects of scholarly exploration.<sup>32</sup> The example of Zurich's developing school will serve as a case study for the development of learned methods.

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32 See Introduction, Ch. 1 for bibliographical information.

## Zurich Higher Education, 1555–1580

The 1520s were marked by an escalating religious conflict between the Catholic cantons and Zurich, which ended only with the Second Territorial Peace of 1531. Zurich had already implemented a series of reforms, including the abolition of the mass and the appropriation of monastic property. In the 1530s and 1540s, it turned to radically rebuilding the political and religious structures of the canton, including its system of education.

These developments can be shown in detail by following the writings, sermons, and letters of Heinrich Bullinger, who alongside Conrad Gessner, was one of Zurich's most active writers. As the unofficial head of the church, he advised the town council on important political decisions and actions based upon close readings of the Bible. He was also very active in organizing meetings within the greater Reformed church outside the regions of the Augsburg Confession (1530).

Bullinger's efforts finally bore fruit in the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, which he wrote in 1562 and published in 1566 in Latin German and French. As he pointed out in his preface, Zurich, Geneva, Berne, Basel, Scotland, Hungary, and parts of Poland all agreed to follow the new creed.<sup>1</sup> The main source for this confession was the new translation and interpretation of the Bible that was the result of the collaborative efforts of a group of professors, called together by Zwingli in 1523, which resulted in the lectorium, established in 1525 and enhanced by Bullinger after 1531. Scholarship and teaching progressed and reflected the town's religious activity. As a creation of the Zwinglian Reformation, the lectorium is an ideal vehicle to examine these developments because it was the place where the most sophisticated scholars of Zurich taught, reflected, and met with one another.

What is important is the extent of the church's responsibilities in Zurich. The church officials were concerned not only with the new contents and forms of Protestant education and scholarship on this advanced level but also with reforming the elementary and Latin schools. The two medieval Latin schools founded by monasteries that were part of the Zwinglian reform in 1523 were now directly integrated into the new school management of the lectorium.

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1 Heinrich Bullinger, *Confessio et expositio simplex orthodoxae fidei*. (Zurich: Froschauer, 1566), Praefatio.

A look at the Zurich Lectorium school minutes shows how scholars were attempting to evaluate the teaching not only in the lectorium but also in the Latin schools. The German-language schools were not part of the evaluations.

The secondary literature emphasizes a move towards religious orthodoxy in Zurich in the period from 1560 to 1580, a development that concentrated on inner organization rather than on a constant comparison with the Catholic Church. The lectorium mirrored this development. No new regulations were enacted in this period; rather, existing regulations were strengthened.<sup>2</sup> Thoroughly kept school documents record a steadily maintained and progressively improved program. This process of consolidation seems to imply that education played only a minor role in the process of reformation, but this does not take into account the growing importance of erudite people on the town council. A new elite, which played a primary role in guiding the town policy, emerged with the powerful assistance of the school. The reach of these new leaders amongst the Reformed churches of Europe was enormous as the book trade shows; church matter was immediately transported to England, sometimes even translated from Latin into English.<sup>3</sup>

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In 1555, a decision by the Zurich town council marked a new era in the administration of school education in Zurich.<sup>4</sup> In response to concerns voiced by Heinrich Bullinger, the unofficial but widely recognized head of the Zurich Reformed Church, German-language schools for small children, both boys and girls, were improved. The town council wanted the professors responsible for education to write a clear curriculum for these schools to connect them to the existing Latin schools and the lectorium within the existing educational hierarchy. This wave of reforms “from below” eventually reached the upper levels of the system in 1559 when explicit new school regulations were introduced for

2 Ulrich Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens bis gegen das Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. (Zurich, Winterthur: Bleuler-Hausheer, 1879 [diss., University of Zurich, 1879]), 102–23.

3 Cf. Diarmaid MacCulloch, “Heinrich Bullinger and the English-Speaking World,” in Campi and Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*, vol. 2, 891–934.

4 In his appendix, Hans Ulrich Bächtold has transcribed Bullinger’s 16 December 1555 petition to the small council and the council’s response from 4–11 May 1556. Hans Ulrich Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat. Zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 12 (Berne and Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1982), 283–304.

both the Latin schools and the lectorium.<sup>5</sup> By 1559, the had town achieved the educational goals formulated by Huldrych Zwingli in 1523: to provide the youth with the best qualifications for understanding the word of God in its purest form, without their parents having to send them to costly foreign schools. It was important that student skills centred on the classical languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and then on word-by-word commentaries by chosen experts of Bible translation so that they might get a thorough grasp of the Holy Scripture and its contemporary meaning for everyday life.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the town had established a fully integrated public school system that extended to university level and that was situated outside the papal world.

The lectorium affected not only the local infrastructure of Zurich and its canton, but also, from 1531 on, influenced other cantons. For example, the two-fold grading system of the lectorium at Berne derived from practices in Zurich as Urs Martin Zahnd documented in his account of the Berne schola publica and schola privata.<sup>7</sup> Zahnd showed that the academy of Berne not only

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- 5 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 103: definite separation of lectorium and Latin schools in 1560; 113: no student should get into Latin school until he has learned some German reading and writing, be it in the German schools or elsewhere. Hans Nabholz, "Zürichs Höhere Schulen von der Reformation bis zur Gründung der Universität, 1525–1833," in *Die Universität Zürich 1833–1933 und ihre Vorläufer. Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier*. Zurich, Verlag der Erziehungsdirektion 1938, ed. Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Nabholz, and Jean Strohl (Die Zürcherischen Schulen seit der Regeneration der 1830er Jahre. 3), 3–164, follows Ernst's arguments. See also the very short summary of Ernst in Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich clergy 1535–1575*, *Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* 15 (Berne, Frankfurt a M., New York, and Paris: Lang, 1990), 182–99.
  - 6 Emil Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation 1519–1533*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Zürcher und Furrer, 1879): no. 426 as of 29 September 1523; cf. Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 53. See also Huldrych Zwingli's *Erziehbüchlein* as of August 1523, revised in 1526: Zwingli, *Wie man die jugend in gu-o-ten sitten und christenlicher zucht uferziehen unnd leeren sölle, ettliche kurtze underwysung durch Huldrychen Zuینگlin beschriben* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1526). Zwingli's *Christenliche Ordnung* of 1523 established an administrative development in the Grossmünster Stift that led to the eventual foundation of a broader school. At the same time, in his writing on education, Zwingli gives concrete advice to his son-in-law about what to study: the classics for personal virtue and then the word of God.
  - 7 Urs Martin Zahnd, "Lateinschule—Universität—Prophezei. Zu den Wandlungen im Schulwesen eidgenössischer Städte in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter*, ed. Harald Dickerhof (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1994), 104, 108–109. Cf. also Ulrich Im Hof, "Die Gründung der Hohen Schule zu Bern 1528," *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 40 (1978): 249–59. Ulrich Im Hof, "Die Entstehung der reformierten Hohen Schule. Zürich (1525)—Bern (1528)—Lausanne (1537)—Genf (1559)," in *Beiträge zu Problemen*

adopted parts of the Zurich model but also brought it to Lausanne.<sup>8</sup> In his view, the two-graded system of schools and lectorium and their interconnection were characteristics of a Swiss system of “Hohe Schule.”

In most European towns, the church oversaw the school as had been the custom from the Middle Ages on; however, in Zurich the town council had a very specific relationship with its higher schools. This relationship was recorded in the council minutes of 1522 and 1523, where decisions that bore directly on disputations about biblical truth were chronicled. The council enacted a new “Christenliche Ordnung” to guide the institutions. At its centre was the reform of the Grossmünster Stift, the independent financial administration of the schools, which the council felt should be seen as an example of true belief and instruction. Nevertheless the reformed Grossmünster Stift remained independent despite attempts by the town council to take control of it in 1532.<sup>9</sup>

In one of his petitions to the town council, the so-called *Fürträge*, Heinrich Bullinger gave a complete account of his responsibilities as head of the Zurich church, which included the schools. Nevertheless, he did not have complete control of the schools’ finances, though, and there were other people, such as members of the town council, who had to be consulted on decisions about money or procedures. By giving the control of schools to a combination of town council members and church authorities, policies towards the Zurich schools were comparable to those in other Swiss towns, such as Geneva and Berne, or German free imperial cities, such as Strasbourg or Nuremberg.

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The 1559 statutes concerning Zurich higher education, which applied to the two Latin schools and the Zurich Lectorium, represent an important step taken by the Zurich town council. They document the relationship between town council and the Grossmünster Stift. The links between the church, scholarship, the town, and education have not been properly examined by

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*deutscher Universitätsgründungen der frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 4, ed. Peter Baumgart and Notker Hammerstein (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1978), 243–58.

8 Zahnd, “Lateinschule,” 108.

9 Hans Ulrich Bächtold, “Bullinger und die Krise der Zürcher Reformation im Jahre 1532,” in *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag. 1st vol., Leben und Werk*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte, 7, ed. Ulrich Gäbler and Erland Herkenrath (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 269–89.



scholars although there is a large body of research on Zwingli's and Bullinger's scholarly production, on aspects of the lectorium, and on the professors active there, such as Theodor Bibliander, Conrad Gessner, and Pietro Martyr Vermigli.

Historiographical research on the Zurich school system started with the doctoral dissertation by Ulrich Ernst, published in Winterthur near Zurich in 1879.<sup>10</sup> Even though the book is brief and Ernst did not analyse school minutes in their entirety, this work provided the fundamental basis for all research on the Zurich Lectorium down to the present. He argues that political changes and the first form of the Prophezei that Huldrych Zwingli organized for biblical studies in Zurich in 1525 were much more important than the later institution of education, the lectorium.

Recent analysis of Zurich book production, however, reveals a different conclusion than Ernst's. Digitized bibliographies, such as that derived from the German database of sixteenth-century prints, "VD 16," give a more comprehensive picture than previously known.<sup>11</sup> These bibliographies show that the whole production of scholarly books in Zurich was connected to pedagogical foundations; all Zurich authors of new knowledge were either preaching or teaching, and their books were based on sermons and seminars in the Zurich Schola Tigurina. This book production was in its infancy in the days of Zwingli, and the professors had thereafter the collective task of translating and interpreting the Bible in the vernacular while remaining as close as possible to the original languages of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The first result of this pedagogy was the collective work on the Zurich Bible translation, published in 1531 by the Zurich printing shop of Christoph Froschauer.<sup>12</sup> This German translation aimed to reach people who were not erudite and not able to read Latin. As a result, it enabled a broad range of citizens in Zurich and beyond to teach themselves from the Bible.<sup>13</sup>

Helmut Zedelmaier, Urs Leu, and recently Paul Nelles reconstructed the bibliographical organizing system used at Zurich after 1531 by examining the

10 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*.

11 VD 16, accessed 13 July 2015, [https://opacplus.bib-bvb.de/TouchPoint\\_touchpoint/start.do?SearchProfile=Altbestand&SearchType=2](https://opacplus.bib-bvb.de/TouchPoint_touchpoint/start.do?SearchProfile=Altbestand&SearchType=2).

12 *Die Zürcher Bibel von 1531* (facsimile, Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1983).

13 Research on the development of the book trade in Zurich has been started by Urs Leu, see especially his work on textbooks in, Urs B. Leu, "Textbooks and their Uses—An Insight into the Teaching of Geography in 16th Century Zurich," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton (Genève: Droz, 2008), 229–48.

work of Conrad Gessner.<sup>14</sup> This system may have been influenced by Zurich's first organizer of the library, Konrad Pellicanus, and developed from index systems, such as the index made for the Bible translation in 1531. It is not yet clear, however, if the students worked with this method in school. One connection might have been Erasmus's *De Copia*, which the students read in the third grade.<sup>15</sup>

Ulrich Ernst and the literature that came after him saw Heinrich Bullinger as an unoriginal follower of Zwingli and his work. However, according to Ernst, and after him Hans Nabholz (1938) and Fritz Buesser, Bullinger had a lasting influence on school matters through the working administration that he organized for public education, which aimed, among other things, to educate ministers for the rural parishes in the canton of Zurich.<sup>16</sup>

This view of Bullinger as a follower of Zwingli, without any ideas of his own, changed slightly with the international re-evaluation of his work and person in

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- 14 Urs Leu, "Aneignung und Speicherung enzyklopädischen Wissens. Die Loci-Methode von Erasmus," in *Erasmus in Zürich, Eine verschwiegene Autorität*, ed. Christine Christ-von Wedel, and Urs B. Leu (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2007), 327–42. Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta: Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau, 1992); cf. Brian W. Ogilvie: *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), *passim* (see Index p. 375). Paul Nelles, "Reading and Memory in the Universal Library: Conrad Gessner and the Renaissance Book," in *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 147–69.
  - 15 Howard Hotson compares the method used in Zurich to the then highly influential Ramus system and finds the Zurich method unconvincing because it does not have Ramus's strong anti-Aristotelian coherence and logic. See Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications 1543–1630*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 221.
  - 16 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 86; Nabholz, "Zürichs Höhere Schulen von der Reformation bis zur Gründung der Universität, 1525–1833." Fritz Büsser, "Die Kirchlichen Institutionen im Reformierten Zürich des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich. Zum 500. Geburtstag des Reformators Huldrych Zwingli*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 31, ed. Büsser (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 217–30. Fritz Büsser, "Reformierte Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis," in *Wurzeln der Reformation*, 199–216. Fritz Büsser, "Théorie et pratique de l'éducation sous le Réforme à Zurich," in *La Réforme et l'éducation*, ed. Jean Boisset (Toulouse: Privat, 1974), 153–69. Fritz Büsser, "'Schola Tigurina,' Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550," in *Schola Tigurina, Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550; Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 25. Mai bis 10. Juli 1999 in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Bächtold, (Zurich, Freiburg i.Br.: Pano, 1999), 7–15.

2004, the 500th anniversary of his birth.<sup>17</sup> This new scholarship compared Bullinger's work as a scholar and historian and the extent of his correspondence with contacts throughout Protestant Europe with those of Zwingli. An idea that had earlier been addressed in a few publications now received broader attention: namely, that Bullinger's management of the Zurich schools changed the whole approach of the lectorium.

However, what is missing from this account is the broader context of Bullinger's relation with the other professors in the lectorium. This can only be seen through an examination of the school minutes from 1560, which provide great insight into the decision-making processes of the group. They show that decisions on school affairs were made by the professors of the lectorium together with the school director, whom they elected either for one year or, after 1563, for two. At the same time, Bullinger's colleagues were concerned with issues of humanist pedagogy that extended beyond the education of ministers.

If, as in this study, we go beyond a purely biographical approach and attend to the different types of document—minutes, textbooks, and regulations, each of which had its own logic—we can begin to understand the processes by which the lectorium developed.

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Well into the nineteenth century, Latin school education in Zurich was exclusively reserved for boys and was an alternative to learning any kind of craft. Moreover, the young men who had the privilege of receiving a Grossmünster Stift scholarship were strictly forbidden sexual relations with the female sex, which was punishable by their immediate expulsion. In terms of gender relations, therefore, this study necessarily focuses on an all-male environment. The question that researchers face in this environment is, rather, the relationship between the generations, which in school matters were represented by the school governors and teachers, the students, their parents, and relatives. Did the students get any help in becoming adults, and what form did this help take? The rare case studies seem to suggest that parents did not have the same view of their responsibility for the young that has become common in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. An interesting question is therefore what kind of learning and “growing up” assistance did the students receive in school education. How were they expected to behave? The focus of this study is the

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17 Campi and Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*.

function of the school as an institution dependent on both church and town and the impact of teachers as individuals on students. School regulations, minutes, and textbooks clearly show what sort of assistance was expected and given, whether in matters of general support, in matters of teaching and learning, or in preparation for the next step of gaining a post in society.

## The Zurich Lectorium in the Secondary Literature

This work treats a sparsely researched institute of higher education, the so-called lectorium at the Schola Tigurina or Prophezei in Zurich. In 1879, Ulrich Ernst provided the first coherent picture of this institution from its foundation in 1525 to the end of the sixteenth century. Ernst still remains a very useful account of its structure and curriculum.<sup>1</sup> He described the school as a place that reassured its students in their religious faiths and which provided instruction for ministers who would be assigned to Zurich town and rural parishes after finishing school. The education of the ministers was part of an entire program for the reformation of the church.<sup>2</sup> Ernst's view was developed by Hans Nabholz in an essay about Zurich's institutions of higher education during early modern times published in the year 1938 as part of a series of articles dealing with the 100th anniversary of the University of Zurich in 1933. Nabholz stated that:

the double purpose of the school, general spreading of biblical knowledge and the true exegesis of the Bible on one side and then the formation of ministers in the reformed belief, determined its particular assembly.<sup>3</sup>

This hypothesis was summarized by Heinzpeter Stucki in the recent exposition catalogue on the Schola Tigurina around 1550, published in 1999: no other career paths have been identified for graduates of this educational institution.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that in Heinrich Bullinger's view, expressed in his chronicle, the prime purpose of the lectorium was to be the education of ministers. Although he claimed this plan built on Zwingli's ideas, he went much further than his predecessor.<sup>5</sup> While Zwingli's priority was the translation of the Bible and the education of the whole lay community of Zurich, Bullinger developed the

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1 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*.

2 Ibid., 45.

3 Nabholz, "Zürichs Höhere Schulen," 5: "Der doppelte Zweck der Schule, allgemeine Verbreitung der Kenntnis der Bibel und ihrer richtigen Auslegung und sodann Heranbildung von reformierten Pfarrern, bestimmte ihren besondern Aufbau."

4 Bächtold, *Schola Tigurina, Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, 22.

5 Heinrich Bullinger, *Reformationgeschichte nach dem Autographen*, vol. 1, ed. Johann Jakob Hottinger and Hans Heinrich Vögeli (Frauenfeld: Beyel, 1838), 126 (§ 75).

lectorium into a school for ministers. The scholarship regulation of the Grossmünster Stift, probably dating from 1560, makes clear that the aim was to serve the church “in pulpit and lectern.”<sup>6</sup>

Was it the case that students became preachers? In his papers now kept in the Zurich archives, Bullinger has one long list of scholarship holders of the Grossmünster Stift. He maintained the list from 1529 to 1574, one year before he died.<sup>7</sup> Some of these students were traceable. Research by Hans-Georg Wackernagel in the 1950s into the matriculation records of the University of Basel included information about the later career paths of the Zurich students who matriculated at the University of Basel. He locates them predominantly in positions in the church ministry. They became ministers foremost in the rural parishes of the canton of Zurich.<sup>8</sup>

Although training for the ministry was the prime purpose of the school, it was not the only one. As Ulrich Ernst pointed out in his pioneering study, the study of medicine was also promoted with scholarships of the Grossmünster Stift.<sup>9</sup> More recently, Fritz Büsser has emphasized that the general education of rhetoric and artes liberales was also important.<sup>10</sup>

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- 6 StAZ E 13, Stipendia, no. 21. This scholarship regulation may be very similar to the scholarship regulation of 1529 that Zwingli himself formulated. In my 2007 article, I elaborated on this affair. See Anja-Silvia Goeing, “‘In die Fremde schicken,’ Stipendien für Studierende des Zürcher Grossmünster Stifts an auswärtige Hochschulen,” in *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten in konfessionsvergleichender Perspektive. Schulwesen, Lesekultur und Wissenschaft*, ed. Heinz Schilling and Stefan Ehrenpreis, Beiheft der Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung 38 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007), 29–46: 32n13.
  - 7 Heinrich Bullinger, *Verzeichnis der zürcherischen Stipendiaten der kyllchen und schul / zu dem Grossen mün/ster Zürych von 1529–74* with preposed short notices about the scholarship regulations, as of 1527–38, f. 1–16. In ZB Zurich F 95 (Ernst Gagliardi and Ludwig Forrer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich. Teil 2: Neuere Handschriften seit 1500* [Zurich: Zentralbibliothek, 1982], col. 533).
  - 8 Hans Georg Wackernagel, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*. 2nd vol. 1532/1533–1600/1601 (Basel : Verl. der Univ.-Bibliothek, 1956); cf. Goeing [Göing], “‘In die Fremde schicken,’” 31n10.
  - 9 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 97. Further research on this matter can be found in my article on physics in the curriculum of the Zurich Schola Tigurina, Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing], “‘Physica’ im Lehrplan der Schola Tigurina 1541–1597,” in *Anfänge und Grundlegungen moderner Pädagogik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Mussolf and Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing] (Köln, Böhlau, 2003), 73–91 (to further studies of medicine); Anja-Silvia Goeing, “Patterns of Thought in 16th Century Public Education,” in *Philosophy of Education: Research Areas, Paradigms, Methods, Special Issue of the Critique & Humanism Journal Sofia* 26 (2008): 141–58.
  - 10 Büsser, “‘Schola Tigurina,’ Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550”; Büsser, “‘Prophetei’ — ‘Schola Tigurina,’ Prototyp, Ideal und Wirklichkeit,” 18–21.

A letter exchanged between Rudolf Gwalther, former student of the lectorium, now minister at the Zurich Grossmünster Stift and administrative director of the Zurich lectorium, and Francis Lord Russell, second Earl of Bedford, show that some students attained positions at foreign courts. Gwalther wrote on 16 March 1561, recommending a young Zurich student to his services:

[John Henry Fabritius] has a fair knowledge of Latin, and has made greater progress both in speaking and writing French, than a native of Germany can easily expect. He has learned all the duties of a life at court, and possesses such talent and activity, that we hope his services will neither be unpleasing nor unprofitable to any one who may think fit to receive him.<sup>11</sup>

The answer was sent on 16 June 1561 from London. Francis Lord Russell wrote to Gwalther:

The Young man whom you recommended to me I have placed in the service of her serene majesty's [Queen Elizabeth] vice chamberlain [Sir Frances Knowles], a pious and influential personage. I hope therefore that he is honourably provided for. Meanwhile, should any thing occur to him, wherein he may be profited by my assistance, I shall not be wanting; and I desire you to be assured that the same assistance will always be at the service both of yourself and your church at large.

However, if the main purpose was to instruct ministers in the Reformed belief, how was this realized? Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), reformer and minister in Zurich formulated the concept (1523) and established the first setup (1525) of the lectorium.<sup>12</sup> His successor as first minister at the Grossmünster Stift from 1531/1532 Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) was then responsible for the systematic organization of the school.<sup>13</sup> Ernst states that Zwingli had prepared this new

11 Hastings Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters (second series) A.D. 1558–1602. Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Transl. by Hastings Robinson, Cambridge: CUP, 1845, pp. 53–54.

12 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 52.

13 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 84–87; Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, "Bullinger als Schulchronist," in Gäbler and Herkenrath, *Heinrich Bullinger*, 305–322; Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*. Bächtold, "Bullinger und die Krise der Zürcher Reformation im Jahre 1532," in Gäbler and Herkenrath, *Heinrich Bullinger*, 269–89. Recent secondary literature can be found in the two edited volumes by Campi and Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*.

step in education as early as 1516, and Fritz Büsser has fleshed out the argument in detail.<sup>14</sup> Not just Zwingli and Bullinger but also the newly hired professors contributed to the early development of the school after its establishment in 1525. Both of the professors of theology whom Zwingli had hired, Theodor Bibliander (ca. 1505–1564) and Konrad Pellicanus (1478–1556), as well as the professor of rhetoric, Hans-Jacob Ammann (1500–1573), were major contributors.<sup>15</sup> From the beginning, both theology professors stamped their erudite ideals and methods of teaching as well as their educational philosophy on the school. Ammann's contribution was rather different: he offered background instruction in rhetoric and dialectic.

The structure and function of the lectorium not only had effects on the local infrastructure of town and canton but produced many interactions with institutions in other cities from 1531 onward. As we have seen, the academy of Berne took over parts of the Zurich model and brought it to Lausanne, adopting the two-tiered system of schools and lectorium.<sup>16</sup>

Although structurally comparable, Berne differed from Zurich in that the school clearly claimed to educate more than ministers. As Zahnd states: their aim was also the “necessary educational ammunition for prospective chief executives of the city state.”<sup>17</sup> This is not stated explicitly in any regulations in Zurich, but, as we have seen, the work of Ernst shows that the school trained future physicians in physics.<sup>18</sup> The town physician and professor of physics (and ethics) Conrad Gessner campaigned for students to be instructed in this career.<sup>19</sup> Although we know of a number of examples, the connections

14 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 41. Büsser, “Die Kirchlichen Institutionen im Reformierten Zürich des 16. Jahrhunderts”; Büsser, “Reformierte Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis”; Büsser, “Théorie et pratique de l’éducation sous le Réforme à Zurich”; Büsser, “Schola Tigurina, Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550.”

15 Cf. Bächtold, *Schola Tigurina, Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, 28–31.

16 Zahnd, “Lateinschule,” 104, 108–109. Cf. Im Hof, “Die Gründung der Hohen Schule zu Bern 1528”; Im Hof, “Die Entstehung der reformierten Hohen Schule. Zürich (1525)—Bern (1528)—Lausanne (1537)—Genf (1559).”

17 Zahnd, “Lateinschule,” 107: “notwendiges schulisches Rüstzeug angehender Führungskräfte des Stadtstaates.”

18 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 97.

19 For a biography of Conrad Gessner, see Urs B. Leu, *Conrad Gessner (1516–1565): Universalgelehrter und Naturforscher der Renaissance* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2016); the articles and appendices in Urs B. Leu, and Mylène Ruoss, eds., *Facetten eines Universums. Conrad Gessner 1516–2016* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2016); and the older work: Hans Fischer, ed., *Conrad Gessner: 1516–1565; Universalgelehrter, Naturforscher, Arzt*, Jubiläums-Publikationen zur 450-jährigen Geschichte der Art. Institut Orell Füssli 2 (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1967). Further bibliographical information in Hans Wellisch,



between the lectorium in Zurich and schools in other cities remain understudied, as does the role of the institution in the development of the town itself.

### The Organizational Notion of “Lectorium”

The advanced level of education planned and effected by the school regulations bears the name “lezgen” or “lectorium” by contemporary sources.<sup>20</sup> The financial anchor of the lectorium and the two Latin schools was the old church foundation of the Grossmünster Stift, a richly endowed major town church in the heart of Zurich with ministerial functions and a canon chapter. The benefices that belonged to this church financed both Latin schools—the Grossmünster or upper school and in part the Fraumünster or lower school—and also partly the Alumnat at the Fraumünster School and the entire lectorium as the advanced school for higher education and preparatory school for the particular exams that led eventually to students’ acceptance as ministers.

Despite the general appropriation of Catholic Church property after 1525, the Grossmünster Stift managed to retain its financial independence. From 1525, the church developed a complex set of educational institutions aided by the town council and an internal reform of the church itself.<sup>21</sup> As Hans-Ulrich Bächtold and André Holenstein have pointed out, there was a major controversy over the fate of the Grossmünster Stift in 1532 when the town council threatened to take it over. Heinrich Bullinger had the right to deliver petitions to the town council that represented a form of intermediary authority between the school and the councilors.<sup>22</sup> His petition to the town council in

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*A Bio-Bibliography*, 2nd expanded ed. (Zug: IDC, 1984) as well as Goeing [Göing], “Physica’ im Lehrplan der Schola Tigurina 1541–1597,” and Goeing, “Storing to Know.”

20 The derivation of the precise name of this school as “lectorium” is extensively treated in my article: Goeing, “Die Ausbildung reformierter Prediger in Zürich 1531–1575—Vorstellung eines pädagogischen Projekts,” in *Bildung und Konfession. Theologenausbildung im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (Mainz: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 295–97 with reference to the functional components of an academy, a theological seminary, a “Hohe Schule,” and a gymnasium. In addition, Josias Simmler called the lectorium in 1576 and 1577 a school, and he explicitly mentioned that it was not a “Hohe Schule” (academy), as he called the University of Basel a “Hohe Schule” (academia in the Latin version of his book). Simmler, *Regiment*, 166r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 151v.

21 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 124–142 (Economy).

22 Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*; Holenstein, “Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagropolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger.”

that year helped to ensure the financial independence of the Stift. He presented a collection of all of the statements made in the council between 1523 and 1531 about keeping the Grossmünster Stift as an independent learning institution.<sup>23</sup> After 1532, the financial sources for the Fraumünster School and the Alumnat were connected to the Grossmünster Stift. But the accounts were kept separately and a joint committee ensured that the curriculum planning was coordinated.<sup>24</sup>

As of 1560, the “Schulherr” was the elected administrative director of the lectorium, who also oversaw the administration of the Latin schools and the Alumnat. He was documented in the school minutes as having met on a regular basis with a group of professors and former elected administrative directors to discuss all issues concerning the administration of the school. The minutes show in detail the process by which a decision was made: normally the town council as supreme authority was only involved when it was asked to confirm decisions by the professors, but there were also rare cases when the town council made a decision without being asked for its participation and before the issue was even discussed in the school director’s meeting. This alignment of school and town council is mentioned in the research by Hans-Ulrich Bächtold on Heinrich Bullinger’s petitions.<sup>25</sup>

### The Scholarships at the Zurich Lectorium

As we have seen with Gwalther’s recommendation of the student Johann Heinrich Fabritius to the English court, the goals of the Zurich Lectorium were by no means exclusively focused on forming ministers but also included a broad conception of humanist education focused on the artes liberales.<sup>26</sup> These forms of instruction at the lectorium were useful for the entire community of Zurich, independent of any particular career path. Nonetheless, Heinrich Bullinger in his chronicle claimed that it was Zwingli’s explicit wish that ministers, who were needed in Zurich’s rural areas, should be educated in a school specially designed for these purposes. The lectorium was created, Bullinger goes on, first and foremost to fulfil these demands. This claim does

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23 Bächtold, “Bullinger und die Krise der Zürcher Reformation im Jahre 1532,” in Gäbler and Herkenrath, *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575*, 269–89; Holenstein, “Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagespolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger.”

24 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 124–142 (Economy).

25 Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat* (1982).

26 See Ch. 8.

not mean that other career paths were completely forgotten or impeded as we have seen in the case of the university study of medicine. The latter was even promoted by the same scholarships that were explicitly dedicated to students who would later be assigned for work in the pulpit or at the lectern or teacher's desk.<sup>27</sup>

In 1996, Karin Maag first formulated the concept of a systematic planned education through travel.<sup>28</sup> The plan was to fund advanced students either to study subjects at different universities that were not taught in Zurich or to deepen their acquired knowledge at home. This planning promoted communal and individual goals. Scholarships to other and foreign universities were designed not merely to optimize the individual formation of the students. They connected knowledge and skills in Zurich to those of partner institutions, creating the means by which returning young men were able to disseminate what they had learned.

### The Classrooms

The physical location of the classrooms has already been described by Ulrich Ernst.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the theological *lectiones publicae* were held in the chancel of the Grossmünster, but the lessons of Latin and Greek were held in a different room, the so-called lectorium (reading room) or "vaporarium" (oven room) in the building assigned to the canons of the Grossmünster. The Latin schools were located in the cloister of the Fraumünster and in the wing of the canon building at the Grossmünster.

Our knowledge of how exactly the students were taught, however, is much less complete. Scholars have identified a number of anecdotes about modes of instruction. We know, for example, that Hans-Jacob Ammann, the elected administrative director from 1537 to 1560 and professor of rhetoric and dialectic at the lectorium is said to have lectured for over seven years on the ten books of Quintilian's rhetoric, one after the other, until he finally reached

27 See Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographon*, vol. 1 (Frauenfeld: Beyel, 1838), 126 (§ 75).

28 Maag, "Financing Education, the Zurich Approach, 1550–1620." I extend this argument in Goeing, "In die Fremde schicken."

29 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 56 (Choir of the Grossmünster for the *lectionibus publicis*); 70 (cloister in the Fraumünster; wing of the canons' building in the Grossmünster, proper room "lectorium" (reading room) or "vaporarium" (oven room) in the canon's building of the Grossmünster for the Latin and Greek lectures).

their end.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the surviving student notes show that Theodor Bibliander, professor of the Old Testament, delivered his lectures over several years, working his way through the books of the Bible chronologically.<sup>31</sup>

### Teachers and Scholars at the Lectorium

Nonetheless, the surviving sources make it difficult to flesh out the lives of the professors and scholars connected to the Zurich school.<sup>32</sup> Scholars have focused their attention on the works and letters of the theologians Huldrych Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and, recently again, Theodor Bibliander, as well as the natural philosopher and physician Conrad Gessner.<sup>33</sup> For example, the group of editors who are publishing the

- 30 Chr. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1750–1751), vol. 1, 1750, col. 347 “AMMAN (Jo. Jac.): “Er brachte 7 Jahr lang mit Erklärung der Institutionum oratoriarum Quintiliani zu und wurde deswegen schertzweise Septilianus genennet.” Jöcher included a reference to Appendix I in Johann Heinrich Hottinger: *Schola Tigurinorum Carolina: Id est, Demonstratio Historica; ostendens Illust. & Per-antiquae Reipub. Tigurinae Scholam, a Carolo Magno deducendam: Duabus absoluta Periodis; Quarum illa, a Carolo M. ad Reformationem, Triviale; Haec, a Reformatione, exhibet Publicam: Accedung I. Bibliotheca Tigurina, sive Catalogus Librorum ante et post Reformationem a Tigurinis scriptorum. II. Observationes de Collogij Carolini Origine et progressu; Doctoribus Ecclesiae et scholae. III. Judicia quaedam exterorum, de Schola Tigurinorum reformata* (Zurich: Hamberger, 1664).
- 31 Compare the lecture lists by Theodor Biblianders compiled by Emil Egli in Egli, “Biblianders Leben und Schriften,” *Analecta Reformatoria 11* (Zurich: Zürcher und Furrer 1901), 135–36. Cf. Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing], “‘Vernünftig unterrichten.’ Bibliander als Lehrer,” in Christine Christ-von Wedel, ed., *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564). Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005), 68.
- 32 A list of names is prepared by Ulrich Ernst in Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 55–58, 60 (Zwingli), 92–93, 99, 100–101 (Bullinger until 1560), 103–105, 112 (lectorium from 1560 to 1600), 117 (Latin schools from 1560 to 1600), 187 (school master at the Alumnat [Zuchtmeister]), 188 (administrative directors [Schulherren]).
- 33 For Zwingli, cf. Zwingliverein, Zurich, <http://www.zwingliverein.ch/>, accessed 13 April 2016, which has links to a chronological list of the secondary literature about the Zwinglian reformation. For Bullinger, cf. Campi and Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*. For Vermigli, cf. Emidio Campi, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli—Petrus Martyr Vermigli, Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation—Humanismus, Republikanismus, Reformation*, in cooperation with Frank A. James II and Peter Opitz, *Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance 365* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002). For Bibliander, cf. Christine Christ-von Wedel, ed., *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564). Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005).

correspondence of Heinrich Bullinger at the University of Zurich show the long reach of his political and theological international communication.<sup>34</sup> In the recent literature, Josias Simmler has been studied because of his political ideals that have been seen as a precursor of republicanism.<sup>35</sup> Other teachers whose materials survive, include Conrad Clauser, philologist and translator, and the philologist Jakob Wiesendanger, named Ceporin, whose Greek grammar was widely spread among students all over Europe after his premature death in 1525.<sup>36</sup> One of the most potentially fruitful means of elaborating on the lives of the other teachers can be found in Urs Leu's studies of the book

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Further bibliographical material on Conrad Gessner is indicated in Hans Wellisch, *A Bio-Bibliography*, 2nd expanded ed. (Zug: IDC, 1984) as well as Goeing [Göing], "Physica' im Lehrplan der Schola Tigurina 1541–1597" and Goeing, "Patterns of Thought."

34 Universität Zürich, Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, "Heinrich Bullinger-Briefwechseledition," <http://www.irg.uzh.ch/hbbw.html>, accessed 13 April 2016; special thanks go to Rainer Henrich for valuable advice.

35 Cf. Hans Ulrich Bächtold: "Josias Simmler. Vielseitiger Humanist, Theologe und Historiker," in Bächtold, *Schola Tigurina, Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, 33; Daniel Tröhler: "Republikanische Tugend und Erziehung bei Niccolò Machiavelli und im Selbstverständnis des Schweizer Stadtbürgertums des 16. Jahrhunderts," in Musolff and Goeing [Göing], *Anfänge und Grundlegungen moderner Pädagogik im 16. und 17. Jh.*, 63–68. Swiss Republicanism is generally discussed in Thomas Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republik. Staatsverständnis und Repräsentation in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), however, with a general view on the developments of the 17th and 18th centuries. See also Thomas Maissen, "Religious Stalemate and Confessional Alignments: Dynamics and Stagnation in the Confederation from 1531 to 1618," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation*, ed. Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 72 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 590–618.

36 Peter Frei, *Conradus Clauserus Tigurinus (ca. 1515–1567). Pfarrer, Schulmann, Gelehrter* (Zürich: Beer, 1996). (160. Neujahrsblatt der Gelehrten Gesellschaft in Zürich 1997).

Research on the use of the Greek language in early modern times is underdeveloped. About Ceporin there are therefore only discussions in the context of his German translation of Zwingli's treatise on education (1523), with comprehensive indications of bibliographic material and a critical commentary and imbedding of this work into his function as teacher at the lectorium. See Christoph Riedweg, "Ein Philologe an Zwinglis Seite. Zum 500. Geburtstag des Zürcher Humanisten Jacob Wiesendanger, gen. Ceporinus (1500–1525)," in *Museum Helveticum. Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 57 (2000), 201, 211. For more on translations in Zurich, see Wilfried Kettler: *Trewlich ins Teütsch gebracht. Lateinisch—deutsches Übersetzungsschrifttum im Umkreis des Schweizer Humanismus* (Berne, Berlin, and Bruxelles u. a.: Lang, 2002), especially Chapter 3, "Das Übersetzungsschrifttum von Leo Jud," 117–212; Chapter 4, "Die Übersetzungen von Huldrych Zwingli," 213–252; and Chapter 6, "Das pädagogische Übersetzungsschrifttum von Johannes Fries," 291–328.

collections of the Zurich scholars Hans Fries, teacher of Latin, Heinrich Bullinger, and most recently, Conrad Gessner.<sup>37</sup>

### Reciprocal Effects of the Zurich Lectorium with the International Community of Learning

Research on pedagogical concepts in the past needs to examine not only differences according to time, space, and author but also according to the types of sources, such as treatises, school minutes, and textbooks. The different formats of these sources shaped their content in ways that have developed independently over the centuries.<sup>38</sup> Histories of source types and their singular content

37 Urs B. Leu, *Heinrich Bullingers Privatbibliothek* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); Campi and Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*; Urs B. Leu, “Die Privatbibliothek von Johannes Fries (1505–1565),” in *Beiträge zur Philologie und Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Festgabe für Peter Stotz*, ed. Martin H. Graf (Zug, 2003), 311–323; Urs B. Leu, Raffael Keller, and Sandra Weidmann, *Conrad Gessner’s Private Library*, History of Science and Medicine Library 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

38 Writings about the education and formation of adolescents are found in the following kinds of sources and their traditions: 1. Writings about schooling have been in existence since Peter Paul Vergerio wrote his short treatise “De ingenuis moribus” ca. 1402–1403, and they cover Italian humanism first. Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Humanismus und Renaissance*, ed. Eckhard Kessler, 2 vols. (Munich: Fink, 1974, 1976); Eugenio Garin, *Geschichte und Dokumente der abendländischen Pädagogik II. Humanismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1966); Eugenio Garin, ed., *Il Pensiero Pedagogico dello Umanesimo* (Firenze: Giuntine: Sansoni, 1958), 500–718; Craig W. Kallendorf, ed. and trans., *Humanist Educational Treatises*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 5 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002); Craig W. Kallendorf, “Humanism,” in *A Companion to the Philosophy of Education*, ed. Randall Curren (Malden, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell, 2006), 65; and Hans-Ulrich Musolf, *Erziehung und Bildung in der Renaissance. Von Vergerio bis Montaigne* (Köln, Weimar, and Wien: Böhlau, 1997). Some of these treatises, writings with a title that includes *de liberis educandis* and *ratio studiorum* contain curriculum plans. The former *de liberis educandis* are already among the early Italian prototypes; they refer in the first instance to Plutarch. The latter started to develop in the sixteenth century with and according to Erasmus. They represent investigations into the nature of the different kinds of treatises and their philosophical-intellectual contemporary classification. 2. The tradition of mirror of princes, a writing how to educate princes, was in existence already from the middle ages. In medieval times, knowledge and moral values of the state governor were the most important issues treated in these writings. Machiavelli’s *De Principe* was part of this genre. In early modern times, there was a change and development of the genre. This is chiefly investigated by and discussed in Bruno Singer: *Die Fürstenspiegel in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation: bibliogr. Grundlagen u. ausgew.*

are part of intellectual history, just as they are profitable for scholars of literature and art history. Historians also use the traditions that generated various kinds of sources as an opportunity to observe the development of different phenomena and terms over time to know more about their interchange. In the interdisciplinary and international subject of the history of education there are a few such approaches. Nevertheless, by adopting the methods used by intellectual historians, we can gain new insight into the organization of schooling. First, school regulations help us to understand concepts and the reasoning behind day-to-day educational practices. Second, minutes give insights into customs and processes of negotiation amongst those in charge of teaching, and in ideal cases we learn how rules and regulations are changed to fit specific circumstances. Third, research on textbooks reveals information about morals and social values of which teaching strategy is one aspect.

The availability of sources from the Zurich school system (*Schola Tigurina*) is enviable. We have textbooks, lecture scripts, and the letters of students, and school minutes that survive from 1560 on, which have not, until now, been properly examined.<sup>39</sup> In the Central Library of Zurich and the Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich (Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich henceforth known as StAZ) alone, there are rich resources of varied, quality and size belonging to the Schola Tigurina. They include, for example, the

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*Interpretationen: Jakob Wimpfeling, Wolfgang Seidel, Johann Sturm, Urban Rieger* (Munich: Fink, 1981).

- 39 Ernst mentioned that he had used the school minutes (*Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 102–103), and indeed, he cited very informative details from the first pages. He does not give a systematic analysis of the valuable details; instead, he does, however, allude to them twenty-one times in his text, between pp. 102–61, and applies them in an illustrative fashion. This non-chronological and non-systematic treatment has an effect on the interpretation, for example, his report about uncontrolled and hard distribution of punishment (p. 161) can be turned to its opposite by careful analysis of the single case. Cf. Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing], “Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563, Spezifika einer Gattung,” in *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung, Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt, Brill’s Series in Church History 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 141–70; Karin Maag, *Seminary or university? Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995) (illustrative manner); Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing], “Protestantische Arbeitsethik, Rationalisierung des Bildungssystems im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Rationalisierung und Bildung bei Max Weber. Beiträge zur Historischen Bildungsforschung*, ed. Jürgen Oelkers, Rita Casale, Rebekka Horlacher, and Sabina Larcher Klee (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2006), 79–92; Goeing, “In die Fremde schicken”; and especially the fourth chapter of this book. The primary sources, the *Acta Scholastica*, bear the signature StAZ, E II 458.

Wickiana, a famous collection of pamphlets and reports about memorable events gathered by the minister at the Grossmünster church Johann Jakob Wick (1522–1588).<sup>40</sup>

The school was organized to promote interdependencies with international institutions of higher learning as in the case of scholarships to send the students to study at foreign universities. The only research that reveals this international reciprocity, however, has examined the reception of the commonplace method introduced by Erasmus as well as the effects of interchange of Hebrew grammars written in Zurich and elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> We need to place the experience in Zurich in the context of international comparisons to shed light on the differences and similarities in educational approaches among the institutes of higher education and universities in Switzerland and the Holy Roman Empire. These include the Genevan academy, the academy of Herborn, the Pädagogium at Marburg, the academy of Altdorf, the Jesuit academy in Fribourg, and the *gymnasium illustre* in Strasbourg.

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40 Zurich Central Library, Mss. F 12–19, 21–29, 29a, 30–35; cf. Wolfgang Harms, ed., *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Edition with commentary, vol. 7: Die Sammlung der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Part 2: Die Wickiana II (1570–1588), ed. Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997). Cf. also Franz Mauelshagen, “Johann Jakob Wick,” in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 17 (Herzberg: Bauz, 2000), col. 1536–40 and Franz Mauelshagen, *Wunderkammer auf Papier: Die Wickiana zwischen Reformation und Volksglaube* (Zurich, 2008).

41 Leu, “Aneignung und Speicherung enzyklopädischen Wissens. Die Loci-Methode von Erasmus.”

Anja-Silvia Goeing, “Establishing modes of learning: Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the 16th century,” in Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton, eds., *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Genève: Droz, 2008), 157–82.



**PART 2**

*From Society to School: The Zurich School  
Regulations of 1559*





## The School Regulations: Grossmünster Stift and Town Council Documents

Toil triumphed over every obstacle, unrelenting Toil, and Want that pinches when life is hard.

VIRGIL (29 BC)<sup>1</sup>

The Zurich School statutes of 1559 represent an important decision by the Zurich town council regarding the school system as a whole. Since their implications for the new school structure were only evident from May 1560, I refer to them as the Zurich school regulations of 1559/1560. They document the relationship between town council and the Grossmünster Stift, the independent financial administration of the schools. Though an important step in the evolution of the school system, these regulations need to be understood in the context of earlier rules.

School regulations in the Christian world existed and evolved from early medieval times in parallel with the organization of schools as institutions of the church and town. According to Henri Irenée Marrou, the first monastic school regulations consisted of a late antique Easter statement that St. Pachomius inserted during the years from 320 to 340 into his rule. He stipulated that:

any ignorant man entering the monastery should immediately be given twenty psalms or two epistles to learn. If he cannot read, he is to be given lessons by one of the monks for three hours a day, and learn the letters and syllables and nouns.<sup>2</sup>

Medieval schools generated a variety of regulations, enhanced during the Carolingian and 12th-century Renaissances.<sup>3</sup>

The church in Zurich ran two Latin schools. One belonged to the Fraumünster and the other to the Grossmünster Stift, both major monasteries of the town

1 "Labor omnia vicit // improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas." Virgil, *Georgics*, tr. H. Rush-ton Fairclough (Oxford: Loeb, 1916), Book I, nos. 145–146.

2 Henry Irenée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 330–31.

3 Ibid., 334–38; Ibid., *A History*, 337n10.

founded, according to legend, in the Carolingian ninth century. The schools were first documented in 1169 (Grossmünster Stift) and 1283 (Fraumünster).<sup>4</sup> The first document of a school teacher (*scholasticus*) at the Grossmünster Stift is dated 1169. The first mention of the Fraumünster School in 1283 is of a very general character, but the document suggests that, despite the female nuns inhabiting the monastery, the school was already only for boys. As an equivalent to Episcopal or Cathedral schools throughout Europe, the schools focused their teaching on the Latin psalms and the singing of the mass.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, they provided the attending boys with the foundations of general education, the so-called *artes liberales*. The teacher was the cantor at the church to which the school belonged. School books have survived from the times of Konrad von Mure (1259) and later, but nothing is known about school regulations.<sup>6</sup>

The Latin schools were newly introduced in 1523 by the town government, which in so doing followed the advice by Huldrych Zwingli on reforming church institutions. The reformation of the Grossmünster Stift, which included the new order of the school, is well documented. The papers are kept among the Grossmünster Stifts papers at the State Archives of Zurich. They were written by the Chorherr and guardian of the Stift, Heinrich Nüscheler, and transcribed by the town scribe Caspar Frij, in 1523: "Von der Reformation und ferbesserung der Kilchen Zurich zum Großen münster wie do sijgt zu handen genemen."<sup>7</sup> In addition, they were printed in Zurich and Augsburg as early as 1523 in a small booklet containing four leaves.<sup>8</sup> The prescriptions for the reformation of the Grossmünster Stift mark the first step toward new school regulations at Zurich.<sup>9</sup> The plans took place earlier than similar efforts in Germany, where

4 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 8 and 14.

5 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 11 for the time of schoolmaster and cantor Konrad of Mure after 1244.

6 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 11; see also the literature related to Konrad of Mure, who was schoolmaster at the Grossmünster Stift from 1244, e.g., the newest edition of the *Novus Grecismus*: Conradus de Mure and Alexander Cizek, *Novus Grecismus* (Paderborn: Fink, 2009).

7 StAZ, G I, 84 (1523).

8 *Ain Christenlich ansehen vnnd ordnung von den Ersamen Burgermayster vnnd Radt vnnd dem grossen Radt der Statt Zürich, auch Probst vnnd Capitel zum grossen münster da selbst, von der Priesterschafft vnnd pfru<e>nden wegen ermessen vnnd angenommen, zu<o> lob gotes unn der seelen hayl*. Jm M.D. XXij. Jar. Am 29. tag ersts Herbstes. (Zurich: Froschauer, 1523 and Augsburg: Steiner, 1523). Four leaves. Cf. Johannes Müller, ed., *Vor—und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulverträge in deutscher und niederländischer Sprache*, vol. 2, (Zschopau: Raschke, 1886), 241–43 and VD 16.

9 StAZ, G I, 84 (1523); see also Zwingli's booklet on education for a prescriptive theological interpretation of the school curriculum.

Melanchthon was later among the first to delineate ideas about Protestant schools, especially in his contributions to the school regulations of Eisleben (1525) and Herzberg (1538).<sup>10</sup> They were however preceded by other school regulations documented in the German lands, such as those at Braunschweig that are even prior to 1400.<sup>11</sup>

While the Latin schools were already in place in Zurich, the reform plan of 1523 gave birth to the Zurich Lectorium in its first incarnation, the *prophezei*.<sup>12</sup> Specialists gathered to translate and discuss the Bible. A small school “system” with other schools started with a stipend that the Grossmünster Stift set up in 1527 to enable talented students to study in the Latin schools. It was formalized with regulations from 1529.<sup>13</sup> Scholarship students agreed to train themselves by listening to the lectorium professors and going to foreign universities in order to become eligible for the office of minister. Major changes in the system were recorded in 1532, 1538, 1559, and during the attempted reform in 1606.<sup>14</sup> This culminated in the reform of 1609, which led to the lectorium forming two collegia instead of one.<sup>15</sup> These were the *collegium superioris* or *publicum* and *collegium inferioris* or *humanitatis*. Each institution had different subjects: the inferioris had to provide language courses in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek; lessons

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- 10 Gerhard Arnhardt, “Das Curriculum für Eisleben (1525)—Auftakt für die Konstituierung des protestantischen Gelehrtenschulwesens,” in *Philipp Melanchthon und das städtische Schulwesen: Begleitband zur Ausstellung*, ed. Lutherstadt Eisleben, curator: Gerlinde Schlenker (Halle: Stekovics, 1997), 97–108.
  - 11 Friedrich Koldewey, ed., *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, vol. 1: *Schulordnungen der Stadt Braunschweig (1478–ca. 1600)*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* 1 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1886), 21–175; Friedrich Koldewey, ed., *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, vol. 2: *Schulordnungen des Herzogtums Braunschweig: mit Ausschluss der Hauptstadt des Landes* vom Jahre 1248–1826, *Monumenta Germania Paedagogica*, 8 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1890).
  - 12 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 56; cf. also the writings of Fritz Büsser as in Chapter 7, note 16.
  - 13 Cf. Jacques Figi, *Die innere Reorganisation des Grossmünsterstiftes in Zürich von 1519–1531*, *Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft* 9 (Zurich, Affoltern a. A.: Weiss, 1951), 89–90. He gives a summary of the rules for the eligibility of the candidates for scholarships, set up in the Stift and town council in 1529, which were also relevant for the scholarships given out since 1527. See also Kurt Spillmann, “Zwingli und die Zürcher Schulverhältnisse,” *Zwingliana* 9 (1962): 444–47, who refers to Pellicanus’s *Chronicon* to provide information about the scholarships in 1527, respectively the scholarship regulations from 1529.
  - 14 For the most comprehensive list of sources on the Zurich school in the times of Heinrich Bullinger, see Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, “Bullinger als Schulchronist,” in Gäbler and Herkenrath, *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575*, 305–22.
  - 15 StAZ, E II 459, 85av (1609).

in rhetoric and dialectic; and classes in theological basics, simply called *cat-  
cheticus*. The curriculum of the *collegium superioris* consisted of Bible studies  
in the Old and New Testament, Greek and Hebrew literature, dialectic, and  
physics. The collegium superioris even had a professor in history in 1609. In  
1649, the minutes still referred to the two collegia: “12. Nov. (1649), Ist noch  
keiner us dem Collegio Human. Ad Lectiones publicos promoviert worden.”<sup>16</sup>

The name *Collegium Carolinum*, which still remains prominent today to de-  
scribe the old school system of the Zurich church, can be traced back to the  
year 1619 when the administrative director gave the name *Collegium Caroli-  
num* to the lectorium publicum.<sup>17</sup> The name has an earlier history; there is one  
entry in the Stift documents from 1578 using the names *Collegium Carolinum*  
and *Collegium Abbatissanum* for two colleges, the lectorium at the Grossmün-  
ster School and the Alumnat, Cappeler Hof.<sup>18</sup> The town had decided in 1538  
to enhance the schools by including the former Cappeler school, which now  
became the Alumnat at the Fraumünster church. The students from Kappel, a  
town outside Zurich but belonging to the Zurich land parishes, were ordered  
by the town council to attend lessons at the Fraumünster where they stayed in  
a boarding school annex, the so-called Alumnat. The Cappeler Hof’s second  
set of regulations was formulated in 1566. These regulations called the Alum-  
nat *Collegium* for the first time.

As we have seen, there was a struggle between the town council and the  
church in 1532 in which the Grossmünster Stift was able, through the interven-  
tion of Heinrich Bullinger, to retain its financial independence. It became a  
partly secularized church foundation with its own organization and distinct  
finances.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, the town provided additional funding, giving a handful of  
scholarships from charity funds to poor and intelligent students. In 1555, for  
example, Georg Keller and Caspar Wolf received funding to attend Montpellier  
and Padua respectively and to finish their studies of Wundartzney and Chirur-  
gie (medicating wounds and mastering surgery).<sup>20</sup>

16 StAZ, E II, 461, f. 376r.

17 StAZ, E II, 459, f. 286r.

18 StAZ, E II, 458, 247v–78 (1578).

19 Cf. Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*, 116–21. He described in detail the whole story  
leading up to the financial autonomy of the Grossmünster Stift on 17 February 1532, in  
favor of the Grossmünster school and due to the intervention of Heinrich Bullinger.

20 StAZ B III, 7, 258r–v.

The school regulations resulting from the major reorganization in 1532 are kept among the Grossmünster Stift papers.<sup>21</sup> The changes do not appear within the town council papers and are therefore internal regulations of the Stift, which were therefore probably not approved by the town councilors.

While the school regulations of 1532 remained with the Grossmünster Stift, the Alumnat regulations were transcribed among the town statutes and orders in a special book. A second copy, probably the original, is kept today among the Alumnat papers, documents for the administration of the boarding school. The regulations mostly contained rules related to the admission and discipline of the students, including information about exams. The Alumnat rules wanted the students to repeat the readings from school after they returned to the boarding house. Their studies there were under the supervision of the Alumnat schoolmaster, who was also responsible for their welfare. The town council ordered the discipline regulation of the Alumnat to be read aloud in front of the students and teachers, but there is no evidence that this was a regular ritual.<sup>22</sup> The rules set forth to establish the Alumnat were of importance because they connected decisions made by the town council about the Alumnat to the policies of the Grossmünster Stift as the chief institution for schooling in Zurich. The year 1538 was the first time in the sixteenth century when school rules in Zurich were set up by the town council and kept among the orders of the town.

In 1559, the new school regulations distinguished the status of the students of the lectorium from those of the Latin schools. Measured by the results of

21 StAZ, G I, 154–156.

22 *Zucht ordnung für die Knaben imm Cappeller hoff uff verbesserung unnd gefallen unser herrenn gestellt*, StAZ, E I, 14.1, f. 37:

“Und dise Ordnung sol allen knaben imm *Cappler* hoff vorgeläsen // und furgeschriben werden, damitt sich gheiner des unwisses // unß ziehen wöll. Es sol ouch der Zuchtmeister dise ordnung // styff halten und üben, handthaben und nützig endernn // noch nachlasssen. Ob aber mitt der Zytt (alls die Zyt und der bruch oder die übung allerley leert) ettwas wyters vom // Zuchtmeister funden wurde das ouch gu<0>t und nottwendig // were, hat er gewalt das zu<0> ordnen und gepruchen: doch // das er sömlichs zu<0> vor den verordneten über die schu<0>1 fürtrag. //”

“Und in disen puncten allen söllend alle schu<0>ler dem // Zuchtmeister one alles widerreden gehorsam und gewärtig sin us. //”

“Mine herren habent die obbegrieffnen Zuchtordnung inn // allen unnd iedenn artickeln zuo krefftenn erkennen // unnd bestetiget Unnd wellent das sollich ordnung durch // den Zuchtmeister, unnd ouch die Jungenn knabenn mitt // ganntzenn trüwen gehalten werde. Acten mittwuchenn // vor Bartholomei apli Anno xxxviij Presentibus Herr // Burgermeister Walder unnd beid Rät. //”

“Burckhart Lentz der Zit // understattschryber der Statt // Zürich.”

the yearly exams, the student would move ahead in the class system of one of the two Latin schools and then would need special permission to enter the public lectures of the lectorium. The curriculum, the number and dedication to their disciplines of the teachers, and the behaviour of the students were now strictly regulated by clear rules. Thus, each school year followed the same annual curriculum. This meant that professors such as Theodor Bibliander or Hans-Jacob Ammann could no longer read the Bible or classical texts continuously chapter-by-chapter over the course of several years. From time to time, the academic director would introduce or alter one of the school regulations and make a note about the change in the school minutes.

In 1606, long after Heinrich Bullinger's death in 1575, the professor of theology Johann Jacob Breitingen suggested reforms to the curriculum. He wondered why the students were such a small group and their learning was so poor.<sup>23</sup> His opinions were probably informed by his experience at the theological seminary he attended at Herborn. His plans for school reform were not carried out, but his elaborate schemes can be found today among the school papers, in the same folder as the school regulations of 1559, along with the copies of other school regulations and important documents.

The school regulations of 1559 reveal that the lectorium had become an upper annex to the Latin schools and that the student had to pass an exam to be admitted. The minutes of the school also show the commitment of the Grossmünster Stift to the newly enhanced lectorium and its affiliated institutions. Nonetheless, two questions remain: how important was the connection between the town council and the school system and how exactly did the institutions, the Grossmünster Stift, and the town council work together to form and develop education?

After the Reformation in 1523, one of the important issues for the town council had been the renewal of their governing statutes and of their orders. Both were physically separate. There was an explicit difference between orders and statutes. The orders were not only kept in books with the title "Ordnungen," that is "orders," but they also have a different structure. While statutes refer to and organize general infrastructure, orders dealt with a single and concrete case that was to be decided, which often merged later into a general rule. For the storage and later use of these new regulations, officials used books,

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23 StAZ, E 11 476. Indeed, Andreas Mühling, "Reformed High Schools in Sixteenth-Century Germany," translated from German by Albert Gootjes, in *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy*, ed. H.J. Selderhuis. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 40 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 177–193, strengthens the argument that the Herborn theological seminary was influential for restructuring the Zurich lectorium at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century.



whose pages were filled with the town decisions, and there were collections of papers, which were later bound into books. Some of the statute and order books were brought together in 1555 to give an overview of the decisions made in the town council.

A new statute or order was documented in either a book or a collection of papers, whose last pages were often left empty, so that corrections and alterations could be added later. Statutes or orders were often corrected or reorganized. The marriage statute, for example, contains text from f. 201r, corrections from f. 223r to f. 225r, and empty leaves for further corrections from f. 225v to f. 226v.<sup>24</sup> The individual corrections were usually not dated, which makes it hard to understand the genesis of particular decisions in the town minutes.<sup>25</sup>

The town statutes that were renewed in 1523 did not include any new entries concerning the schools in Zurich. Even the new general regulations concerning the system of charity and alms as of 1525 do not indicate that there were stipends for poor students, even though there were.<sup>26</sup> These are nevertheless mentioned briefly in another town book, the book of orders.

The book of orders was filled in by the town scribe, the "Stadtschreiber," and contained a collection of important letter documents that were bound together in later times.<sup>27</sup> There are only a few instances in which the book of orders mentioned school matters. Among them was the order of 1555, which stipulated what Georg Keller and Caspar Wolf had to do when they were sent by the town council to study at Montpellier and Padua.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, there was a general regulation for the admission of Alumnat students.<sup>29</sup> Two further orders, treated in different places in the book, concerned charity funds, one for general alms, the other for student support.<sup>30</sup> Finally, there were the orders "about the German schools" and "concerning the Latin schools."<sup>31</sup> These did not stipulate any requirements, but indicated that conditions ought to be improved.

The only entry describing the school regulation of 1559 can be found in one of the memorial books of the Zurich town council. There were two memorial books ("Memorialbücher") belonging to the town council. The town scribe maintained one of them and the other was operated by the town sub-scribe.

24 StAZ, B III, 6, f. 201r–226v.

25 StAZ, B II.

26 StAZ, B III, 6, f. 193r–200v.

27 StAZ, B III, 7.

28 Ibid., 258.

29 Ibid., 378.

30 Ibid., 388: "Von den Schuleren des Allmusens."

31 Ibid., 392: "über die tütschen schuolen." Ibid., 395: "die Latinschen Schuolen betreffent."

This document was very important because it verified that the school regulations were put in place in that year. The town scribe wrote in his copy on Thursday, 12 January 1559:

Ein ordnung zu<o> gu<o>ten und wolffart der // schulen und Jugend, frombden // und heimbschen handt die ge=//lerten gestellt. Diewil dann // h[err] muller, m. Wegman und m. // B. sprünglj seclher gehert // und myn herren beruft, das solchs ein nutzlich erlich an // sehen sye. So habend min // herren uff anbanig M. // Heinrich Bullingers das alles // besteth. Darfur alle mengel // Inn schu<o>len und darnebend // abgestellt ssyn sollend.<sup>32</sup>

This entry in the memorial book of the town scribe clarified not only issues of chronology but also the complex nature of the collaboration between church and town. It made clear that the school regulations were not entirely a responsibility of the town but nevertheless extended into its affairs. The regulations were brought in front of the town council by the church superiors in order to be confirmed. Heinrich Bullinger, as the head of the Zurich church, brought forward a petition asking the town council to confirm the school regulations drawn up by the scholars, and the council agreed to do so. This was the first time after 1532 that an already existing and well-established procedure for the collaboration between church and town—Bullinger's right to petition the town council—was extended to school regulations. Bullinger regularly presented petitions to the town council on matters concerning both church and town. These documents reveal the view of the church.

The few other occasions when school affairs were written down in the town's memorial book concerned matters of the town: the financing of the alms scholarships by the town and the town's control over the Alumnat. Both represented overlapping responsibilities because financial matters were paid partly by the town.

Another source, the archives of the church, reveal earlier developments in the relationship between town, church, and school. Shortly after 4 May 1556, the town council confirmed a petition of Bullinger, which presented a draft of a new school regulation for the German school.<sup>33</sup> A year earlier, the Grossmünster Stift itself was reorganized. According to Bullinger's *Reformation History*, in 1555 the town council appointed an administrator who took over the

32 StAZ, Ratsmanuale, B II, 106, Manual 1 [Memorial] under Herr Geörg Müller, Burgermeister, Anno 1559, Stattschreiber, 2.

33 StAZ, E I, 18.1, no. 1.

administration of the Grossmünster Stift, a responsibility that had earlier been held by one of the ministers of the Stift. In particular, the new official had to oversee the financial matters of the Grossmünster Stift. Most of these financial matters concerned the schools, as Bullinger's *Reformation History* makes clear. He listed in detail which money contributions were made to what positions, and he explained that payment included scholarships for forty students.<sup>34</sup> These two reforms, of the German Schools and of the Stift, implemented and confirmed by the council, provided the context for the new school regulations of 1559. Both were ordered by the town council, and both results were confirmed unaltered by the same town council.

Unlike the regulations of 1523 and 1532, the regulations of 1559 cannot be found among the regulations and orders of the Grossmünster Stift. So far, the research to find the original school regulations has yielded nothing, although, according to Bullinger in his *Reformation History*, these should be among the same papers of the Grossmünster Stift. As we have seen, the transcription of the document—not the original—is among the school matters under the signature E. Although the arrangement of the archive has changed since and the signatures of “E”—which were separated out—belonged mostly to the town matters, the formulation of this document makes clear that the school regulations were part of the Grossmünster Stift regulations and that Stift and town were separate from each other and under different systems of governance, especially when it came to administrative matters. The Grossmünster Stift regulated the matters of the schools, and the town confirmed the regulation of the Grossmünster Stift by signing an appendix to the regulations in 1559.

Looking back to the regulations and their entries in the official papers, we can see that the role of the town council for the administration of school matters grew over the years from 1523 to 1559. The new organization of the Stift and its primary function as an institute of higher education was confirmed in 1523 by the town council, and in 1538, the town council added the Alumnat, the so-called Cappeler Hof, to the institutions of higher education already existing in Zurich. The Alumnat had regulations concerning instruction although it functioned mostly as a boarding facility for feeding students in the local Latin schools. The council formulated these new school regulations exclusively and granted the school master the right to alter the regulations according to his discretion, without taking into consideration the position of the Grossmünster Stift. Finally, the council confirmed the new lectorium and Latin school regulations of 1559 that Bullinger presented them from the Grossmünster Stift. The Grossmünster Stift grew increasingly independent from general church

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34 Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographon*, vol. 1, 124.

matters and appointed its own administrator in 1555. The school in turn formed its own administrative entity in 1559.

One can interpret the school regulations of 1559 in the first instance as conforming to the overall development of educational policy in the town and Grossmünster Stift after the Reformation. After the integration of the Alumnat, town and church seem to have defined their roles for their collaboration and for the distribution of financial responsibilities for the school system. However, it would be interesting to know if this development, or at least parts of it, were due to more than local developments inside the town council and the Stift, such as those found in other intellectual environments of the time, especially within the Latin network of erudite scholars, the so-called *res publica literaria*.

## School Regulations as *Scribal Publication*

### The Scribal Publication as Format

The school regulations issued on 12 January 1559, which were different from Zwingli's plans of 1523 and Bullinger's plan of 1532, but similar to the Alumnat's rules of 1538, had to be ever present in the minds of teachers and students. For this reason, the town government ordained in a confirmation appendix of the 1559 regulations that they had to be read aloud whenever suitable in front of teachers and students. The regulations contained separate plans for organizing the Latin schools and the lectorium. These show the connection between both school levels: the lectorium was the advanced class and students had to be thoroughly evaluated before they could join it.

How typical were the 1559 regulations and their enactment in Switzerland and the territories of the Old Reich? And did the way in which these regulations were disseminated—in print, in manuscript, or orally—have different effects?

In the sixteenth century, printed school statutes were not unusual. The first printed versions of school regulations in Switzerland and Germany go back to the beginning of the widespread use of the printing press in the 1480s as the rich collection of regulations accumulated by Johannes Mueller confirms. A very early example is the “Formular zu Bestallungsdekreten für einen Stadtschulmeister, bezhtl. Bestallung des Schulmeisters zu Bern,” which established a town schoolmaster in Berne and was published among a miscellaneous collection of council form patterns as early as 1483.<sup>1</sup> A first important step towards the printed formulation of school statutes were their inclusion in communal regulations influenced directly by church reforms. Apart from the individually printed Zurich regulations of 1523, *Ain Christenlich Ansehen*, there were examples from 1522 in Wittenberg by Andreas Karlstadt, *Ain lobliche ordnung der fürstlichen stat Wittemberg*, and 1523 in Leisnig under the influence of Martin Luther, “Ordenug eyns gemeynen kastens. Radschlag wie die geystlichen gutter zu handeln sind.” The German town of Zwickau even printed their own separate school regulations, “Ordnung dess Nawen Studij und yetzt auff gerichteten Collegij yn fürstlicher Stadt Zwickaw” (1523), one of the first reformed and

<sup>1</sup> *Formulare und Tutsch rethorica* (Strasbourg: Knoblochtzer, 1483), 108; cf. Müller, *Vor—und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulverträge*, 101–103.

autonomously created school regulations in German speaking lands.<sup>2</sup> School regulations or statutes published by printing shops later included the 1559 statutes of the Genevan Academy and the Jesuits' *Ratio Studiorum*, which was first printed in 1599 after a long period of dissemination in manuscript form. These printed regulations reached a readership beyond the immediate town and helped to inform readers about the school. As a printed text, its contents were fixed.

The dissemination of school regulations in manuscript form, parallel to printed versions, was also an accepted method of publication. Because of the time-consuming process of copying each paper by hand, this method reached a smaller audience than the works produced by printing shops. This form of publication was called *scribal publication*, a term that covers the ways in which non-printed papers were brought into circulation.<sup>3</sup>

Most handwritten copies were disseminated in transcript form or orally. Many town councils had their statutes read aloud in front of the citizens in order to minimize opposition or dissent.<sup>4</sup> The advantage of oral publication was that it reached only the affected parties, and people were not able to compare the texts to other statutes and opinions in private or public libraries. The orally published statute was therefore much less vulnerable to an objection than a counterpart published on paper for a wider audience, be it in printed or manuscript form.

2 Andreas Karlstadt, *Ain lobliche ordnung der fürstlichen stat Wittenberg Im tausent fünfhundert und zway und zwaintzigsten iar auffgericht* (without place and year, but established on 24 January 1522), 4 leaves, contains a "Verordnung über fremde und über begabte arme Schüler zu Wittenberg," a regulation for foreign and talented poor students at Wittenberg, para. 7 and 17 of the parish statutes. Cf. Müller, *Vor—und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulverträge*, 229–30. "Ordenug eyns gemeynen kastens. Radschlag wie die geystlichen guter zu handeln sind. Martinus Luther. M.D. xxij." (without place and year), 16 leaves. For the community of Leisnig, cf. Müller, *Vor—und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulverträge*, 234–40, here 239.

Leonhardus Nattherus, ed., *Ordnung dess Nawen Studij und yetzt auff gerichtten Collegij yn fürstlicher Stadt Zwickaw, auff drey hauptsprachen, hebraysch, Kriechisch, Latinisch, gestellt* (Zwickau: Gastel, 1523), 10 leaves. Cf. Müller, *Vor—und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulverträge*, 244–61.

3 A general overview of English traditions of scribal culture is given by Harold Love, "Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England," in John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4: 1557–1695 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 97–121. In a more extended form, and defining the term, see Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (1993; repr., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

4 Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, 3–35.

Even though the manuscript was seen as the more unfinished form, differences between manuscripts and printed books only emerged gradually because the printing shops in the sixteenth century tended to imitate the appearance of manuscript books. In Zurich, it was precisely this form of oral publication that was chosen for school regulations. The manuscript took the form of an official charter document, bearing the names of witnesses and the town scribe. The appendix of the transcript makes it clear that the council stated that the statutes should be read in front of the school once a year, at the beginning of each new school year. This was not unusual in Zurich, because other announcements of the council were made orally as well. The town statutes that regulated the infrastructure of the small council, for example, were required to be read aloud every half year, when the government changed and the other half of the small council took over or when the council was elected anew: "Hernach volgennd der Statt satzungen vnd Ordnungen // die man zü allen halben Jaren. Räth // unnd burgeren vorlisst wenn man das Regiment // besetzt." ("Then follow the statutes and regulations of the town, which one reads every half year to the council members and to the citizens, when one assigns the government.")<sup>5</sup> In both cases, the auditors were addressed directly to remind them of certain rules, values, and practices. In the case of the town, only the governing body heard the statutes while in the case of the school regulations, all the members of the school were present. The school regulations had the enhanced function of publishing exam and behaviour standards that were then used to assess the students and, in addition, the teachers. The members of the school were required to know their duties beforehand.

Part 3, which treats the school minutes, will show that the 1559 school regulations were not seen as a finished document. They were changed and enhanced, according to the school's needs, which were discussed in the meetings between the elected administrative director and the teachers. These changes were documented in the school minutes, not in written version of the school regulations itself. For many years—and especially in the years just after the minutes were regularly recorded—we find a discussion of the statutes by professors and the head of the school, who added changes to and enhanced the statutes. These alterations were mentioned during the years 1578 to 1580, when a very diligent elected administrative director, Johann Jacob Friess, was administering school affairs. He eventually listed and dated all of the changes to the school statutes.

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5 B III, 10: Der löblichen Statt Zürich Ordnungen und Satzungen (1555), f. 2r.

Heinrich Bullinger wrote in his chronicle that one copy of the school regulations was kept in the office of the Grossmünster Stift:<sup>6</sup> “Die ordnung der Schu<0>l vnd Studenten, findt man by dem verwallter der Stifft. Were zu<0>lang alles, hieryn zu<0> schryben.” He provided not only the actual place where the statutes were kept, but he also tells us that they were too lengthy to be copied into his chronicle. The administrator of the Stift kept the school statutes, and we know from the same chapter of his book that there was only an administrator at the Stift from 1555.

No one knows how many copies of the school regulations were in circulation. There were at least two copies: the one mentioned by Bullinger stored in the Grossmünster Stift and the other in the town council records under the rubric of school affairs. The latter survives with the subsequent school regulations, which were arranged chronologically up to 1715. That they were not integrated into the statutes and regulations of the town itself was a consequence of how the archive was organized. From the archival structure and history of the Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich, we gather that so-called “religion and school matters” (Religions—und Schulsachen) belonged to the town documents as a separate group, started in 1264, and ending in 1798.<sup>7</sup> In later times, notably after 1837, when the new Zurich archive was founded, the documents were reorganized, and only then were school records separated from town records. Other documents concerning the Zurich schools were kept in other places. For example, the *Acta Scholastica*, discussed in Part 3, were kept until 1833 among the papers of the Antistes, the head of the reformed church who was traditionally the first minister of the Zurich Grossmünster. This position was held after Zwingli by Heinrich Bullinger from 1531 to 1575, then by the former student of the lectorium and former minister of St. Peter’s Church Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586) from 1575 to 1585, then by the Grossmünster Stift minister Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586) until his death in 1586, and after that, by Rudolf Stumpf (1530–1592), former minister at Prediger Church in Zurich, also until his death in 1592.<sup>8</sup> The different storage places for the documents suggest that

6 Heinrich Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographen*, vol. 1 (Frauenfeld: Beyel, 1838; repr. Zurich: Nova, 1984), 124.

7 For an excellent overview about the history of the archival structure in the search plan of the archives itself, see Staatsarchiv Zurich—Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich, online catalogue, E 11 Antistitalarchiv, 1370–1833 (Fonds): <http://suche.staatsarchiv.djiktzh.ch/detail.aspx?ID=308227>, accessed 17 April 2016.

8 James I. Good: “The Antistes of Zurich,” *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* 6, 24 (1895), 594–96. For short overviews on the lives and works of the Zurich antistes, see under their names in the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, accessed 17 April 2016, <http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php>; Christian Moser, “Stumpf, Johann Rudolf,”



the structures leading to the formation of the school in Zurich depended on many single decisions by different councils and were not made systematically.

The question remains of why this form of publication was chosen for the school statutes in Zurich. This question is legitimate since Heinrich Bullinger knew about and held other forms of publication concerning schooling in high esteem. During this time, large numbers of textbooks were printed by Zurich printers for the needs of teachers and students. In addition, after 12 September, 1559, Bullinger received the printed statutes of the Genevan Academy from Theodor Beza after its inauguration on 5 June of the same year. These Genevan regulations were printed together with the profession of faith. In its foreword, the Genevan book states that the statutes were orally presented in front of teachers and students on the day of inauguration. In addition to instructing visitors and all of the people involved, this printed version had another function; it represented the school externally and was therefore also a kind of advertisement.

Bullinger, the town council, and the Grossmünster Stift, however, did not print their regulations, a practice that, as we have seen, was followed in many other towns. This may seem surprising as on 29 September 1523 Zurich's first attempt at a reformed church organization under the auspices of Huldrych Zwingli, *Ein Christenlich Ansehen*, was printed in Zurich and Augsburg, and included three paragraphs (4–7) on schooling.<sup>9</sup> In spite of this head start, the Zurich schools did not print their altered and enhanced regulations of 1559, for reasons of convenience and custom that we can only guess at, but stayed with the traditional form of council announcements. As in other Zurich town council documents, they used German for their language of transmission so it would be understood by the people responsible in the town councils, and not Latin, as in Geneva or, to give an early example of a printed regulation that became famous, in Strasbourg 1538.

Although the Zurich regulations were never printed, two contemporary publications recorded the organization of the Zurich schools and lectorium. In

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*Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 32 (2011), accessed 13 April 2016, [http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FStu%2Fstumpf\\_j\\_rart](http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FStu%2Fstumpf_j_rart); Erich Wenneker, "Lavater, Ludwig," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 15 (1999), col. 851–853, accessed 13 April 2016, [http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FL%2FLa%2Flavater\\_lart](http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FL%2FLa%2Flavater_lart); Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Gualther (Walther, Gwalter), Rudolf," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 1 (1999), col. 381–382, accessed 13 April 2016, [http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FG%2FGs%2Fgualther\\_rart](http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FG%2FGs%2Fgualther_rart).

9 *Ain Christenlich ansehen vnnd ordnung von den Ersamen Burgermayster vnnd Radt vnnd dem grossen Radt der Statt Zürich*. Cf. Müller, *Vor—und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen*, 241–43.

1559, Ludwig Lavater published a Latin book about the functions of the Zurich church. He included a chapter about the school, placing the lectorium in the status of a gymnasium.<sup>10</sup> In addition, Josias Simmler in his *De Republica Helvetiorum* (1576) described the school as inferior to the “academy” of Basel.<sup>11</sup> This was the first comparison with other institutions of learning.

### A Plausible Suggestion for Authorship and Suggestions for Questions Guiding the Research

New school regulations went into effect in 1559, enacted by both town councils of Zurich.<sup>12</sup> It remains unclear who exactly formulated them—whether it was a single person, such as the *Stiftsverwalter* (the administrator of the Grossmünster Stift), Wolfgang Haller, who was said to have kept them after their enactment or Hans-Jacob Ammann, the head of the Zurich Lectorium, who was at the same time the rhetoric and dialectic professor or even a group of authors. There is not a single hint in the documents as to whether it was the lecturers, the town councilors, or the assigned church clergy, who planned the changes to the school system. The regulations were never printed, and only one copy has survived. It is a handwritten transcript kept at the Zurich State Archive among chronologically arranged school publications from the period 1559–1713.<sup>13</sup>

The head of the church, Heinrich Bullinger, brought the regulations before the town council, however, he was not the *official* head of the school in 1559. What then were his responsibilities, charges, and assignments in school matters? Did they include the *drafting* of the regulations? Bullinger had inherited the headmastership of the school, among other duties, when he succeeded Huldrych Zwingli in 1532 as chief pastor of Zurich, a post later called *antistes*. However, according to the school minutes, he ceded the headmastership in 1537 to the lecturer of rhetoric and dialectics, Hans-Jacob Ammann, who

10 Ludwig Lavater, *De Ritibus et Institutis Ecclesiae Tigurinae* (Zurich: Froschauer; 1559, 2nd ed. 1567; extended with comment by Johann Ott in the 3rd ed. 1702), Ch. 18. The analysis of Lavater's *De Ritibus* constitutes the center piece of Irena Backus, “Reformation Culture,” *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation*, ed. Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 72 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 567–589.

11 Simmler, *Regiment*, 166r; Simmler, *De Republica*, 151v.

12 Niklas Flüeler and Marianne Flüeler-Grauwieler, eds., *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, vol. 2, *Frühe Neuzeit—16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Werd, 1996), 16–30.

13 StAZ, E II 476: Schulsachen [School issues] 1559–1713.

held the office until 1560.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, because school issues were still part of overall church responsibilities, Bullinger kept his higher-level position in school matters after 1537. As Hans-Ulrich Bächtold has shown, this was manifested in petitions, in the so-called *fürträge* in front of the “small council.”<sup>15</sup> Due to his higher position, it is possible—though not necessary or certain—that he played a part in formulating the regulations, but his contribution has remained unclear because there are no documents to prove authorship. We know that in 1568 the Zurich Grossmünster commission of teachers assigned him the task of drafting an official Latin letter to the school governors of the University of Wittenberg.<sup>16</sup>

Although there is no definitive evidence that Bullinger drafted the 1559 regulations, there are several circumstances that make him the most likely candidate as author. First, he showed a continuous interest in the school, especially in the lectorium. He expressed his concern not only in many entries in his *Chronicle* and other treatises, in which he kept lists of the students with scholarships, but also in his broad correspondence to other scholars. This was the reason that the humanist reformer Theodor Beza sent him the new school regulations of the Genevan Academy immediately after their enactment in 1559.<sup>17</sup> Second, the minutes of the school were kept in the archive of the Antistes.<sup>18</sup> Finally, no one else was documented as being so interested in the school administration as Bullinger himself. He therefore is the most likely author.

Beyond the question of authorship, there is the question of where do the ideas about the purpose and nature of education come from. The Zurich school regulations contain systematic arguments regarding education that rely on

14 StAZ, E II 458, f. 11: “Schulherren zu Zürich. // 1. H. Hans Jacob Ammianus professor // der Latinschen sprach, Dialecticae // unnd Rhetoricae, uom Jar Christi // 1537. biss uff 1560.”

15 Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*, 279–335: Transcript of eleven illustrative examples from the year ca. 1553 to the year of Bullinger’s death in 1575, among them five proposals of Bullinger’s, one answer of the “small council,” and two of Bullinger’s response statements.

16 StAZ, E II 458, f. 126r: “Man solle also der // universitet [Wittenberg] mitt hübschem schriben begännen, inen Dancken des // willens etc. und zu dißem schriben ist M. Heinrich // Bullinger erbätten worden.”

17 [Theodor Beza], *Correspondence de Théodore de Bèze*, rec. par Hippolyte Aubert, pub. par Henry Meylan et Alain Dufour. Bd. 3 (1559–1561), Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance 61 (Genève: Droz 1963), 20. Our investigation based on the printed version of the school regulations of Geneva in 1559 that is currently kept in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: *Leges Academiae Geneuensis* (Genevae: Stephani, 1559), Signature Pd 72.

18 See the description provided by Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich, online catalogue, E II Antistitalarchiv, 1370–1833 (Fonds), accessed 17 April 2016, <http://suche.staatsarchiv.djktzh.ch/detail.aspx?ID=308229>.

parts of educational treatises as well as formulations stipulating rules of school conduct and discipline. The few contemporary works systematically discussing public education in Zurich were the short booklet by Huldrych Zwingli on education (1523), the book by Ludwig Lavater about the institutions of the church (1559); and, finally, Bullinger's exegeses on Daniel (1565).<sup>19</sup> Much broader in scope, including analyses of the town guidelines and of general ethical reasoning, was Theodor Bibliander's treatise of 1548 on the common grounds connecting all languages, old and new.<sup>20</sup> Bibliander discussed the multiplicity of languages and ideas about an eternal world peace to be achieved by learning, starting with a comparison of the Bible in the different vernacular languages. These few theoretical works reflected on why it seemed important for the Zurich scholars to educate students in reading and translating the Bible,

- 19 Zwingli, *Wie man die jugendt in gu-o-ten sitten und christenlicher zucht*. Compare questions about the German translation of Zwingli's first work composed in Latin by Jacob Ceperin and the following German translation by Zwingli himself (the above mentioned source), solved in a terminological way by Riedweg, "Ein Philologe an Zwinglis Seite."

Lavater, *De Ritibus et Institutis Ecclesiae Tigurinae*.

Cf. Heinrich Bullinger: *Daniel sapientissimus dei Propheta...accessit huic operi epitome temporum et rerum ab orbe condito ad excidium* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1565). Theodor Bibliander, *Bibelerläuterungen. Daniel* (3 commentaries, one is dated 1555), ZB Zurich MS Car I 87. Theodor Bibliander, expositions of the Bible "Bibelerläuterungen": Daniel (1533/1534, 1555). Lecture transcriptions by Heinrich Bullinger and Johannes Rodolphus Bullinger, ZB Zurich MS Car. I 147. Heinrich Bullinger, Expositions on the prophet Daniel "Erläuterungen des Propheten Daniel" (1545/1546), autographon and transcript by Otto Werdmüller, ZB Zurich MS Car. XV 21. Cf. Emidio Campi: "Über das Ende des Weltzeitalters—Aspekte der Rezeption des Danielbuches bei Heinrich Bullinger," in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*, ed. Mariano Delgado, Klaus Koch, and Edgar Marsch, Studien zur christlichen Religions—und Kulturgeschichte 1 (Freiburg [Schweiz], Stuttgart, 2003), 225–38; Thomas Krüger: "Heinrich Bullinger als Ausleger des Alten Testaments am Beispiel seiner Predigten über Daniel 1 und 2," in *Zwingliana* 31 (2004): 91–104; Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing]: "Die Pädagogik des Zürcher Lektoriums der Bullingerzeit" in *Der Nachfolger. Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575). Katalog zur Ausstellung im Grossmünster Zürich 2004*, ed. Emidio Campi, Hans Ulrich Bächtold, and Ralph Weingarten (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004), 62–65; Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing]: "Schulausbildung im Kontext der Bibel: Heinrich Bullingers Auslegung des Propheten Daniel (1565)," in Campi and Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*, vol. 1, 437–58.

The writings by Heinrich Bullinger concerning chronistic and administrative school matters are listed in Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, "Bullinger als Schulchronist," in Gäbler and Herkenrath, *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575*, 305–22.

- 20 Theodor Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1548). This volume is newly reedited by H. Amirav and H.-M. Kirn (Geneva: Droz, 2011).

with expected results ranging from the reformed order of the community to the achievement of world peace.

The school regulations of 1559 were created not only because of reforms in the town council from 1555 but also in the light of other school regulations, which were evolving at the same time. For example, Geneva developed school regulations for an academy, which were enacted in June 1559, half a year after the Zurich regulations. As we have seen, in September 1559 Theodor Beza sent Bullinger a copy of the Genevan *Leges* that had been enacted earlier in the year. Fortunately, a letter of Peter Martyr Vermigli written on 4 October documented the Zurich response to this news. He thanked Beza for sending the *Leges*, which he found elegantly prepared, and congratulated him on the new academy commenting that he thought the choice of Beza as the school head was a very fortunate one. He did not, however, compare the foundation of the Genevan academy nor their new statutes with his own institution in Zurich.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the content and significance of the Zurich school regulations, there are questions about their administrative and intellectual origins. First, do the school regulations build coherently on school developments in Zurich? Second, do they elaborate views expressed in Bullinger's writings or connect to other beliefs he voiced? We need to turn to his sermons, chronicles, and political writings on the church in order to answer this question. Third, is there an integration of public schooling into a master plan of education? If there was such an overall aspiration, did it correspond to the town's demands? What kind of ethical values were transmitted and were they gendered? How extensive was the citizens' support for the regulations? How can we find this out?

Connected to all of these questions is that of the extent of external influences on the Zurich schools. This question relates to the influence that Philip Melancthon had on the thinking of Bullinger in the field of schooling and also to that of the effect of other regulations from foreign and Swiss schools. For example, the 1547 Braunschweig school regulations for the Monasterium of the Fratres contained a chapter that established a graded system of punishments in the school, starting with the payment of an amount of money and increasing in severity.<sup>22</sup> This system resembled the general pattern of punishments

21 Théodore de Bèze, *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, coll. by Hippolyte Aubert, ed. Henri Meylan and Alain Dufour, vol. 3 (1559–1561), Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 61 (Genève: Droz, 1963), 25–26.

22 Friedrich Koldewey, ed., *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, vol. 1: *Schulordnungen der Stadt Braunschweig*, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica 1 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1886), 74: *Gesetze und Lehrpläne des Pädagogiums im Brüdernkloster. 1547—A. Leges pro scholaribus schole maioris Brunswigensis publicatae in visitatione facta 18. Ianuarii anno etc. 47*. The relevant passage reads:

recorded in the school minutes for Zurich. The directives of punishment were not written in the school regulations but can be reconstructed from statements in the school minutes. Thus, this discussion belongs to the next part of this book. But I should stress that these similarities could be an indication that the working guidelines of the school were influenced by bodies other than the Zurich town council. It seems probable that parts of the school regulations were borrowed or otherwise closely connected to different ideas, even those outside Zurich. We need to ask whether these external influences fostered or limited the demarcation between school and politics.

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Welcher nun hiruber mutwilliglich ein legem ubertreten ader eine lection vorseumen wurde, der sal mit ernst gestrafft werden, und der auch solche ordnung und leges nicht wolt halten. der mag sein stul furder setzen und diser schulen mussig stenh. Dan ein erbar radt die jenigen, so sich selbst vorseumen und andere ergern wollen, keines weges zu dulden noch zu leiden gedenckt.

Der wegen sollen dises die pene und straffen sein: nemlich welcher eine stundt ane venia vorseumet, der sal ein scherff, der aber einen halben Tag ader eine predigt zu drey schlegen zum Brudern vorseumet, einen brunschwigischen pfenning zur straff geben. Und solche gelt straff sollen allein die jenigen geben so uber sibenzehen jaren alt sein. Die andern, so junger und darunter sein, sollen mit ruten gestraffet werden.

Do aber auch etliche das gelt gering wegen wolten, darumb das sie es villeicht nicht erwerbden durffen, und sich an die gelt straff nicht keren wolten, die sollen, wan sie zum dritten mal wider kummen und ungehorsams befunden wurden, auch mit ruten gestraffet werden. Und do sollichs an inen auch nicht helffen wolt und sie so jar ungezogen sein wurden, das sie auch zum virten mal in ungehorsam befunden wurden, sal den selben angesaget werden, das sie iren stul weyter setzen wolten, und solchs sal publice fur der gantzen schul gescheen. Dan ein erbar radt solchen ungehorsamb an denen die sich nicht pessern wollen gantz und jar nicht zugestaten willens ist, achtets auch inen selbst fur nutzer, sie fahen was anders und pessers an, dan das sie ire zeyt unnutz zu bringen und ire eltern umb das gelt so sie auff sie wenden betrogen wolten. Und so auch etliche von frembden orten her sein wurden, die wil ein erbar radt dar uber in der stadt nicht leiden, es were dan, das sie sich zu dinst begeben ader hadtwerck lernen wurden, domit sie andern nicht ergernus geben.

## School Regulations: Aims in Education and Administration

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the school regulations of 1559 (see fig. 7 for an outline). These should be seen in the context of the general development of the theoretical treatises and school regulations of the Zurich School and other institutes of education at that time. In Parts 3 and 4, we will turn our attention away from the school regulations and toward the school minutes and textbooks.

The document forming the basis of my analysis is the handwritten copy of the school regulations kept with other school documents in the Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich. As already discussed, a note in the margins explained that the regulations were copied from Bullinger's chronicle.<sup>1</sup> A transcription of the regulations can be found in Appendix 5 of this book. The discussion of the text enables us to reconsider developments in Zurich and how they resembled or differed from regulations in other towns.

The regulations were organized as follows. The first part described the general disciplinary rules meant to guide the daily conduct of students of Latin schools and the lectorium.<sup>2</sup> The second part discussed, amplified, and detailed the daily arrangements for students and teachers, creating an elaborate structure of rules.<sup>3</sup> In particular, it dealt with the question of how students and teachers were expected to meet the requirements of learning and reading and how frequently they had to attend school and church. This second part consisted of seven subchapters: the church visit, school hours, classification of grades, lessons at the lectorium, holidays (*Urlaub und Vacanzen*), yearly exams, and, finally, the administration of the school.<sup>4</sup>

An insertion in the paragraph on the classification of grades revealed the active use of Latin from the third grade on.<sup>5</sup> The subchapter that followed, dealing with the lessons of the lectorium, was divided into an additional seven

1 StAZ E II 476, 5r.

2 Ibid., f. 5r–7v.

3 Ibid., f. 7v–16v. Start: "Ordnung wie man sich allhier in der // schul mit lehrnen, lesen, auch allem // dem, daß zu der schul dienet halben // solle. //"

4 Ibid., f. 8v–16r.

5 Ibid., f. 10v–11r.

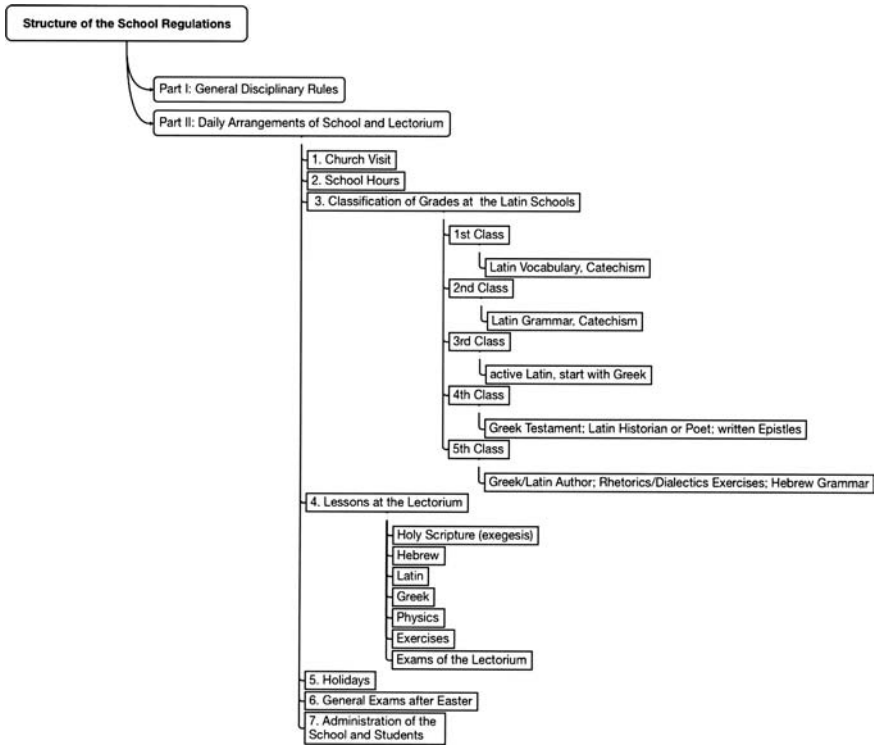


FIGURE 7 Tree diagram outline of school regulations of 1559/1560, StAZ E II 476, 5r-18v (Transcription see Appendix 5)

parts that primarily discussed the class subjects.<sup>6</sup> The first five of these parts contained the exegesis of the Holy Scripture (*Lectionis Theologica*), lessons in the three languages Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and, finally, the teaching of the Aristotelian *Physica*.<sup>7</sup> It also included the review of exercises, the so-called *Exercitia*, which encompassed the active skill of speaking Latin, of preaching, and of using the Greek language.<sup>8</sup> The end of this subchapter contained information regarding the yearly exams given in the three subjects of Latin, Greek, and the exegesis of the Holy Scripture (*Excerpta Theologica*).<sup>9</sup> This second part of the school regulations ended with information on the yearly holidays, the abovementioned exams, and, finally, the administration of the school—with

6 Ibid., f. 12r-14r.

7 Ibid., f. 12r-13r.

8 Ibid., f. 13r-14r.

9 Ibid., f. 14r. The yearly exams are again, and even more extensively, treated in a later part of the school regulations.

Ibid., f. 14v-15r.



special attention to the office of the elected administrative director of the school.<sup>10</sup> These regulations of 1559, which were read aloud at least once a year, were complemented by other, older, regulations that were not included in the document and were not read publicly. Among these was a dress code and the Grossmünster Stift scholarship regulations.

A comparison of the structure of the Zurich regulations with that of the Geneva regulations that were published later in 1559 reveals striking differences.<sup>11</sup> The Geneva regulations were written in Latin, not German. The writing style was erudite and juridical, as shown by the title, *Leges*, which translates as laws or statutes.<sup>12</sup> By contrast, the Zurich regulations are less formal and more easily adaptable to daily usage.

The Zurich regulations were written in German and contained a paragraph that was added at a later date and included the confirmation of these regulations by the town council. According to this confirmation, the regulations themselves were not written by the town council but presented to the town council by Zurich's chief pastor, Heinrich Bullinger. The confirmation states that the regulations were approved by both councils, a phrase that is ambivalent and in need of explanation.<sup>13</sup> These two councils could very well have been the small and the large councils, but by 1559 the small council was already part of the large council. As modern research on legal practices in Zurich suggests, the phrase "confirmed by both councils" usually referred to the small council in its entirety, which consisted of the standing small council and the former small council that acted in an advisory capacity. In important matters, both of these councils had to convene to give their consent.<sup>14</sup>

The last sentence on page 7r of the school regulations revealed that they were meant to be read aloud every year during exams in the presence of the schoolmasters and everyone who worked and studied at the school.<sup>15</sup>

10 Ibid., f. 14r–16r.

11 Compare the print of the school regulations of Geneva: *Leges Academiae Geneuensis* (Copy of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel).

12 The origin and value of law studies is presented in the foreword of the school regulations. See also Maag, "School and Education 1500–1600," p. 538, who interprets the goal of the Genevan Academy as to provide lessons for non-Genevan citizens, which would explain the printed format of the *Leges* (to reach more clients).

13 StAZ E II 476, f. 16v.

14 Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Innere Verhältnisse der Stadt Zürich 1300–1500," in *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, ed. Niklas Flüeler and Marianne Flüeler-Grauwiler, vol. 1, Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter (Zurich: Werd, 1995), 369; furthermore: Thomas Weibel, "Der Zürcherische Stadtstaat," in *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, ed. Niklas Flüeler and Marianne Flüeler-Grauwiler, vol. 2, Frühe Neuzeit—16.–18. Jahrhundert (Zurich: Werd, 1996), 16–18.

15 StAZ E II 476, f. 7r, cf. also f. 16v.

Dise ordnung soll zu allen jahren, wann man gemeinlich //  
 examiniert, öffentlich allen denen, die in die Cen- //  
 suren kommend, vorgelesen werden, damit sie nit //  
 in abgang gericht werde, sonder jeglicher was //  
 er schuldig ist wüße. //

While the regulations in Zurich were read aloud and do not appear to have been published in printed form, the directly comparable school regulations in Geneva were published in Latin. And while the Zurich regulations were enforced by the Grossmünster Stift, the Genevan regulations were administered exclusively by the council. While in Zurich the regulations' target group was the students, in Geneva it was the teachers as the body of the school staff.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the texts reveal different priorities. The Zurich regulations gave more space to the lectorium than to the Latin schools, which were mentioned only marginally. In Geneva, the discussion of the Collegium publicum spanned three pages out of a total of twelve pages while the Latin school was the subject of the remaining nine pages.<sup>17</sup>

This emphasis was partly due to the fact that all aspects of the administration of the school in Geneva were discussed in the sections on the Latin school while in Zurich the administration of the school was part of the overarching unit of the lectorium. The two sets of regulations reveal different administrative structures as well. In Zurich, the sections on the lectorium serve as a comprehensive unit of school administration, but in Geneva this administrative role was enacted by the Latin school.

With the exception of all of Melanchthon's known regulations, which focused on teaching alone, general disciplinary rules constituted the first part of most school regulations in the German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire and beyond. If we want to put the Zurich regulations in a comparative context, we need to examine these disciplinary rules in some detail.

The general disciplinary rules covered student conduct in and outside of school. Students of the Zurich Latin schools and the lectorium were required

16 Compare the foreword of ten pages of the "Leges": "Promulgatio Legum Academiae Genevensis," in *Leges Academiae Geneuensis*.

17 *Leges Academiae Geneuensis*, 10v (below)–11v (above). The division is the following: 1r–5v: Foreword: Promulgatio Legum Academiae Genevensis, 6r–6v: Leges Academiae Geneuensis. De Praeceptoribus Gymnasii, 6v: De Ludimagistro, 6v: De Scholasticis Gymnasii, 8r: Leges Septimae Classi Peculiares, 9v: De Vacationibus, 10r: De Promotionibus, 10v–11r: De Publicis Professoribus, 11r–11v: De Publicis Scholasticis, 12r–15v: Formula Confessionis Fidei, 16r: Formula Iurisiurandi Quod.

to show up punctually for their lessons.<sup>18</sup> It was prohibited for them to be seen on the streets during the core hours of six to ten in the morning and twelve to five in the afternoon.<sup>19</sup> Differing information on the times of the weekly church service for students is given in each of three passages in the regulations. One passage said that students were supposed to attend services every day in the morning, another stated that attendance was mandatory twice a day on Saturdays and Sundays, and another said students were to go to church twice on Sundays.<sup>20</sup> In their free time, the students were supposed to review what they had learned. Further, they were expected to be dressed “decently” and were forbidden to dance, walk in the street at night, or associate with the wrong crowd. Scholarship holders were under the additional obligation not to get involved with women in any way—not even by marriage. If they violated this rule and were suspended, they were required to reimburse all previously received payments.<sup>21</sup>

The first part of the school regulations thus contained the requirements for a virtuous life, what is referred to in the second part of the regulations as *Morum civilitas* or moral behavior.<sup>22</sup> In the second part, instructions regarding moral behavior consisted mainly of punctuality and chastity. However, the second part also comprises instructions on how students should approach learning, reading, and school in general. The second part opened with an account of the goals of teaching:

18 StAZ E II 476, f. 5r: “Es söllend alle schuler die erwachsen sind, auch die // studenden fleißig in alle die lezgen gahn, in die sie // geordnet worden, also wann die glogg schlagt, sie dann // in dar schul oder in dem Lectorio seynd da dannen // sie nit kommen sollend, biß die stund oder Lection // auß ist.”

19 Ibid. f. 5v: “Und ob jemens der predicanten, oder Leseren // und schulMeistern, die schuler oder studenten, zu // der Zeit der lezgen, oder von den sechsen am morgen // biß zu den x. und von den xii. biß zu den fünfen // nachmittag hin und har ouf der gaßen, oder // vor dem thoren gahn oder stahn sehe und funde // dise sollend sie darum rechtfertigen, und ob sie // nothwendig seyn bedunkte, anbringen. //”

20 Ibid., f. 5r: “Es söllend alle schuler die erwachsen sind, die morgen // zu den predigten und gebät der gläubigen, in die // kirchen gahn, und darbey züchtig und fleißig der// harren, biß Zum end, insonders sollend sie am // Sontag morgens und abends bey der predig seyn// und besonderen fleiß und enden in dem Katechismo.”

Ibid., 8v: “Von dem Kirchgang.// Alle Samstag, Sontag und Fest der Kirchen ...// Zürich, sollend alle schuler, die das alter, vernunft// und verstand habend, insonders die in den vor// deren Classibus sind, zu der predig des abends// und morgens geführt werden.”

21 StAZ E II 476, f. 7r–7v.

22 Ibid., f. 8r: “sollen die schulmeister den knaben auf // das komlichest oder fleißigst abnehmen und ihnen // *morum civilitatem* wol und eigentlichen unbil- // den.”

(7v) Fürnemlich soll mit allem fleiß, treüw und  
 ernst von den schulmeisteren angehalten werden  
 daß die schuler nit allein in der lehr, sonder auch  
 in der godtsforcht, und guten süten auferzogen  
 werdind, die Ingenia und stuk die zu dem lehrenden  
 und lehnenden leüthen förend alß da sind vernunft  
 (8r) verstand, gute gedachtnußen, und ein recht gut gspräch,  
 sollend die schul Meister wol erdauren und bewähren.<sup>23</sup>

The schoolmasters were required to promote learning and good conduct among students, and to train, in particular, the necessary mental faculties, consisting of the human characteristics of reason, intellect, memory, and eloquence. Students with insufficient talents were to be sent away to learn a trade. Boys with physical handicaps were not even admitted to the school in the first place since the churches did not want to be “burdened by unskilled people who would need to be nurtured by our lord’s benefices” (‘mit ungeschickten leüthen überladen und un- / seren herren pfründen aufgesezt werdind’).<sup>24</sup> The next paragraph described mandatory church attendance by the students; as we have seen, they were supposed to go to church in the morning and evening on Saturdays, Sundays, and church holidays.<sup>25</sup> They were also required to gather in the school and be examined half an hour before the church bells rang. The next passage outlines an exact schedule of lessons held in school each day:

Die stunden sollen fleißig von den schulMeistern / und ihren Zugebenen  
 gehalten werdind, also daß / die glogg schlägt sie da in der schul zuge-  
 gen, und / die ganz stund, biß es widerum schlägt lesind und / behörind,  
 und namlich zwo stund vormidtag, also / von dem sechsen biß zu den  
 sibnen, und von den / viii biß zu den ix. Aber ij. stund nach midtag  
 von den / xii. biß zu den 2. Item aber ein stund von den / 3. biß zu den  
 vieren.<sup>26</sup>

23 Ibid., f. 7v–8r. “Erdauren und bewähren”: see *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*, accessed 2 May 2016, <http://www.rzuser.uni-hd.de/~cd2/drw/e/er/daue/erdauern.htm>; <http://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw/>.

24 Ibid., f. 8r.

25 Ibid., f. 8v.

26 Ibid., f. 9v.

Two hours were reserved for lessons in the morning (from six to seven and eight to nine) and three hours in the afternoon (from twelve to two and from three to four).<sup>27</sup>

After introducing the schedule, the regulations addressed the organization of classes and the content of the curriculum. The school was divided into five classes. To be admitted to the first level, students needed to study enough German to have mastered the rudiments of reading and writing. If they had not previously attended a German school, they needed to provide evidence that they had learned reading and writing elsewhere before they were allowed to attend one of the Latin schools, the Grossmünster School, or Fraumünster School. Students practiced reading and pronouncing Latin in the first class and had to learn two new words by heart each day. They also practiced writing Latin. On Saturday, they studied the catechism. In the second class, they did declensions and conjugations, not out of the medieval textbook *Donat* but from its abridged version: “ein kurze form declinatio / num und Conjugationum, damit sie mit dem donat / nit beladen werdind den ganz außen zulehnen” (“a short form of declension and conjugation, so they are not overwhelmed by having to learn the whole *Donat* by heart”).<sup>28</sup>

The school regulations instructed schoolmasters about how to determine what reading material to assign to their students. One rule was written down: “Soll aber der Caton in / der schul bleiben, so soll man doch den Knaben in der / (10v) schul die Exempla nit laßen, in denen das teütsche ne- / bend das latein getrukt ist.” (“If the Cato stays in school, one should not let the boys have the examples, where the German [translation] is printed next to the Latin.”)<sup>29</sup> The *Cato* was a medieval textbook that students often read sentence for sentence, with the Latin text and German translation next to one another. The regulations specifically excluded the use of the German translation. It can be concluded that the school regulations fostered strict unilingual Latin education at school. Speaking Latin in school was compulsory for the third class as a later passage explains in greater detail.<sup>30</sup>

The third class was discussed much more extensively than the first two. The paragraph in the regulations is so detailed that it is worth citing it here in its entirety:

27 Consider also that the times of schooling were set in the beginning of the school regulation for the hours 6–10am and 12–15pm (*Ibid.*, f. 5v).

28 *Ibid.*, f. 10r.

29 *Ibid.*, f. 10r–10v.

30 *Ibid.*, f. 10v.

(10v) In der dritten Klaß soll man lesen das lateinisch  
 neüw Testament, samt den kleinen Epistlen Cicero  
 nis durch Sturmium gesamlet, lese man auch etliche  
 kleiner Eclogas Vergilii, insonders aber soll ein stund  
 der Lateinen Gramatic geordnet und geeignet werden  
 also daß man die Genera Nominum, formationes  
 temporum und die gemeinsten Reglen Constructionis  
 alle jahr verlese. Am Samstag sollend dise Epistlen  
 geben, denen Argumentum [crossed out: ium, written above: ves] der  
 Lector Zuvor in  
 der wuchen angeben und fürscreiben soll, um die  
 12. soll man dise üben im Catechismo, und nach gle  
 genheit ihres alters etwas weiters dann nur die kurzen  
 fragen fordern, am donstag aber um die Zwölffe  
 lehre man auch griechisch lesen, und laße man auch  
 keinen aus diser lezgen er habe dann dises alles ge  
 hört, und wol gelehret, daß man im Examine wol  
 erfahren mag.<sup>31</sup>

(In the third form students must read the New Testament in Latin together with Cicero's short epistles, compiled by Sturm.<sup>32</sup> And they must also read many of the short eclogues by Virgil. In particular, one hour of Latin grammar must be offered so that the general concepts of conjugation and the most common rules of constructing sentences are read all year. On Saturdays students are required to present the epistles whose arguments the lector dictated and discussed the week before. Around 12 o'clock the lectors are called upon to practice these epistles in the catechism lecture, requiring only the short questions according to the students' age. However, on Thursday at twelve they must also teach students how to read Greek and they must not let anyone leave this lecture without having heard and learned everything. One will be informed about this in the exam.)

It is clear here that the Latin Bible, the Epistles of Cicero, and the Eclogues of Virgil were the main reading material for students. In addition, students began with the basics of Greek. On Saturday, Latin epistles were presented in

31 Ibid., f. 10v.

32 From 1539 until 1559, Sturm brought out four different compilations of Cicero's letters that were printed concurrently in many reprints, see in [http://bvba2.bib-bvb.de/V/42CAN5HG3EL925URBJ9HS3CFMDEP1GFABNV1GF48QHCJLTRIY3-05464?func=file&file\\_name=search\\_vdi6](http://bvba2.bib-bvb.de/V/42CAN5HG3EL925URBJ9HS3CFMDEP1GFABNV1GF48QHCJLTRIY3-05464?func=file&file_name=search_vdi6), accessed 2 May 2016.

the catechism lecture. The arguments in the epistles were discussed the week before which might mean that the student's homework included the complete reformulation or memorization of the epistles. Speaking Latin was made compulsory in the third class, and any student who broke this rule faced the threat of punishment.

The fourth class was dedicated to the intense study of Greek, the second foreign language. Whereas in Greek class students practiced the rudiments of grammar and vocabulary, in Latin they analysed works by the historians and poets. The choice of appropriate reading material was incumbent on the school masters. Here analysis meant the foundations of sentence construction ("Constructionem"), figures like patterns and tropes ("Schemata, Tropos"), and finally the art of creating poetic verses according to defined rhythms ("rationem Carminis").<sup>33</sup>

The next paragraph of the regulations explicitly emphasized that the fifth class must be taught by the schoolmaster himself. This requirement makes it reasonable to assume that the schoolmaster did not always teach the lower classes and may have been represented by his assistants. Greek authors, chosen by the schoolmaster, were read in the fifth form. The daily schedule included practice in rhetoric, which was described as follows:

Die 5. und Oberste Classis ist des schulmeisters. des / soll am morgen ein guten graecum authorem lesen, zu / midtag ein Latinum, zu abend prae exercitamenta Rhetorices / und Dialectices, als dann sind Aphtonius, Libri de copia rerum / Erasmi, oder etwas dergleichen.<sup>34</sup>

(The fifth and highest form is that of the schoolmaster. In the morning the class should read a good Greek author, at noon a Latin author, and in the evening students should do exercises in rhetoric and dialectics, such as Aphtonius, the book *De Copia Rerum* by Erasmus or a similar work.)

Hebrew grammar was practiced as well.<sup>35</sup>

The smartest students were chosen to attend the lectorium after completing this class.<sup>36</sup> The school regulations emphasized at this point that no drawn-out transition should take place between Latin schools and the lectorium as this would cause too much confusion. Rather, students should make a clear break

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33 Ibid., f. iir.

34 Ibid., f. iir.

35 Ibid., f. iiv.

36 Ibid.

and leave the school behind before they start at the lectorium. The rule presupposed that students had acquired certain preparatory skills before being selected.<sup>37</sup>

The next section of the regulations described instruction at the lectorium.<sup>38</sup> It clarified that the subjects that the students had already learned—Hebrew, Latin, and Greek—were now to be studied on a higher level. Physics and the exegesis of the Holy Scripture were also part of the curriculum. Students were still required to read the Holy Scripture each morning and on three consecutive afternoons during each week of instruction.

Particular emphasis was put on the question of how the professors should structure their lectures. The focus was no longer on teaching as it had been in the Latin schools. During the course of the year, the two professors of Holy Scripture were supposed to take turns teaching, basing their arrangement on a personal agreement. Hebrew grammar was to be taught each year by a different young preacher.<sup>39</sup> Like the two professors of theology, the professor of Latin was supposed to alternate with the professor of Greek.<sup>40</sup> Latin, now comprising rhetoric and dialectics, was taught each day at noon for an hour.<sup>41</sup> Even the method was specified: “in authoribus durch Exempla, usum / und Imitationem.”<sup>42</sup> The Greek professor was not supposed to conjugate *ad verbum* in the mode of the Latin schools but to describe the stylistic quality of the language by reading one author and analysing his writing according to “artificium, usum und imitationum.”<sup>43</sup> During the course exercises, or *exercitia*, held every second or third day, the students were examined by the professors of Latin and Greek. The professors were required to keep attendance records but only for the scholarship holders.<sup>44</sup> The professors’ task was mainly to practice Latin and Greek with the students. The *Lector Latinus* was expected to

anweisen /und darzu halten, daß sie Orationes Latinas / omnis generis, Dialogos fictas narrationes, und was / dergleichen übungen sind, schreibind, ihn anzei/ gind, und sich stäth übind, am freytag soll Er für / und für einen, und demnach den anderen / freytag ein anderen declamieren laßen Latine.<sup>45</sup>

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., from f. 12r.

39 Ibid., f. 12r.

40 Ibid., f. 12v.

41 Ibid., f. 12r.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., f. 13r.

44 Ibid., f. 13v.

45 Ibid.



(assign and urge them to practice writing Latin orations of all genres, as well as dialogues and fictitious narrations, to do this steadily and to hand him over the exercises. On Friday, he should let the students declaim in Latin, everybody in turn.)

On Saturday, the Latin teacher practiced preaching with the students and also corrected them.<sup>46</sup> The professor of Greek also had to practice Greek actively with the students and have them write Greek letters as an exercise.<sup>47</sup> The main examination took place once a year to test students in the subjects of Latin, Greek, and *Excerpta Theologica*.<sup>48</sup> The physics teacher was largely outside this structure and had to organize his teaching material himself according to his needs.<sup>49</sup>

The next paragraph discussed weekly and yearly vacations.<sup>50</sup> It was noted that the summer vacation for both the schools and the lectorium did not last longer than a month and coincided with the “dog days” of summer.<sup>51</sup>

There followed an in-depth account of the examinations, paraphrase of which is given below the transcription:

(14v) Von dem jährlichen Examen. //

deß jahrs soll ein Examen gehalten werden nach Ostern // dath mit mehr weil und ernst, dann bißhar beschehen // nach beschähenen Examen söllend die aufseher

der schulen samt dem schulherren offnen und thun [,und‘ underlined, before +, in the left margin ,± forte d und‘] // und die ungfließen erfunden bschälken und straffen // auch zu den Stipendiis, und derselben mehr und // gen gar nienen fürderen, und soll das bschehen // darum das alle schuler ein anlas habind gfließner // zustudieren. Zwüschend dem Examen aber in dem // jahr soll niemand promoviert werden, es // schehe dann von eines fürpündigen fleißes wegen // doch soll es auch nit beschehen ohne wüßen des // verordneten zu der schul, im Lectorio soll man // fleißig Examinieren die Scripta und Experimenta // Iuvenum und welche die fleißigsten, gschiktesten // und gehorsamsten erfunden werdend, die söllend // zu glegner Zeit gen wandlen an die frömbde // schiken. // (15r)

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., f. 13v.

48 Ibid., f. 14r.

49 Ibid., f. 13r.

50 Ibid., f. 14r.

51 Ibid., f. 14r–14v.

schicken, die anderen aber so vil und lang aufhalten // biß sie auch ghors-  
am und gschikt werdend. //<sup>52</sup>

As the document indicates, the main goal of the exams was to provide criteria for advancing students from one class to the next and from the Latin schools to the lectorium. The assessment of students in both the Latin schools and the lectorium was based almost exclusively on “diligence’ versus ‘indolence.’ Industriousness was at a premium. The diligent students were passed to the next grade, and the non-diligent punished, in the hope that they would follow their classmates’ example and become more industrious themselves. The students of the lectorium were told that only the most obedient, diligent, and skilled students would be allowed to go “*gen Wandeln*”—to travel to foreign universities to enhance their knowledge. The others would stay as long as necessary to become diligent and skilled, enough that they, too, would be eligible to travel. There is brief mention of the areas in which students were expected to develop skills—in “Scripta und Experimenta Iuvenum.”<sup>53</sup> The young people’s own writings were to be checked to see if they met the standards. However, it is not exactly clear what the word “Experimenta” means here; it is not further explained in the text although it appears to refer to written exercises in Latin.

The discussion of examinations was followed by a paragraph devoted to the administration of the school. To preserve and maintain order, the students needed supervisors.<sup>54</sup> At any one time, each of the Latin schools had a headmaster and preceptor.<sup>55</sup> In addition, the administrator of the Grossmünster Stift served as a supervisor for the students holding Grossmünster scholarships.<sup>56</sup> The duties of the elected headmaster were discussed last.<sup>57</sup> He was to call meetings according to his needs and wishes and was required to ensure that the school regulations were applied in daily matters.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., f. 14v.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., f. 14v–15r.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., f. 15r.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., f. 15r–15v.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., f. 15v.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., f. 16r.

## School Statutes and Regulations in Zurich and in Europe

In Zurich, the set of school regulations functioned first and foremost as an agreement between church, town, school administrators, teachers, and students, and second as a reminder, a reminder that had to be read aloud. It was an official document that was made orally accessible to all involved parties. These two functions were described in detail in the regulations themselves. The rules were treated as commands and were brief and categorical; nothing was discussed or proven, no point was explained, there was no cultural and philosophical context. Terms were left unexplained.

The school regulations dealt mainly with the framework for instruction at the Latin school and lectorium in Zurich. Student conduct was the most important issue treated in the regulations. Punctuality was of prime importance in keeping with commonly accepted civic traditions. Part of the school framework was morning prayers, school subjects, and the requirements of written and spoken Latin.

The regulations also addressed desired student performance. Non-gifted students were filtered out and encouraged to enter the crafts. The concept of “non-gifted” students demonstrated a certain dismissive stance toward the crafts since it showed that they were seen as a last resort for those who did not advance in school.<sup>1</sup>

Examination grades were always considered to be the result of diligence. If the students’ self-conducted *Experimenta* and writings were evaluated positively, they were permitted to study at foreign universities. This makes clear that schooling in Zurich had a preparatory function. School was intended, that is, to provide broad preparation for their studies at foreign universities. The school regulations did not discuss the role of students in the church or town community.

Each part of the school—the Latin schools, the individual subject areas in the lectorium, and the school administration—were put under the control of

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1 By comparing school minutes with town minutes on the one side and synod minutes on the other to show the development of town and church values, further research should be able to determine if this school-related judgment also applied to the value hierarchies of church and regional society.

certain people who were responsible for their management and execution. Two schoolmasters were responsible for the two Latin schools and, separately from the schools, the lecturers were each personally responsible for each subject at the lectorium. The school regulations merely provided the latter with a framework for performing their job. It was therefore possible for them to vary the curriculum without violating the school regulations. The lecturer of Aristotelian *physica* was even requested to present his own curriculum and teaching material. Pedagogy consisted of providing a general plan for the education of young people at school, one that demanded a certain conduct on the part of the teachers, and to which teachers were as strictly bound as students. What was new in the town community was the insistence on “speaking Latin.” This requirement defined a different class of community members, the scholars. They distinguished themselves by the eloquence of their speech and written work and, to a certain degree, they held a communicative function. They published books and corresponded with officials in other territories and councils although of course these writings were inaccessible to non-Latin speakers.

This growth of a Latin-reading and -speaking community opened up new vistas of knowledge derived from ancient and Italian texts and commentaries. The fields of scripture and moral conduct as well as politics, medicine, and architecture were enriched. When these Latin texts and commentaries were translated into German by Zurich intellectuals, they were disseminated through the society at large. With these new readings, new methods of organizing knowledge emerged.

The school’s moral goals were confined in the regulations to rules of conduct within the school. These mainly addressed, as previously noted, the behavior of the students in their daily routine. Their purpose was disciplinary, to ensure that the curriculum was properly followed. They demanded measurable and visible results and provided clear rules.

Before the Reformation, modes of behavior, such as chastity and abstinence from dancing, had been a mark of just two groups in society: the priests and the members of monastic orders, among them also university students. These were now applied to the students in the lectorium. It is entirely conceivable that general church guidelines or handed-down traditions in town played a role in the codes of conduct.

For example, in the year 1541, the Basel antistes Oswald Mykonius, a former schoolmaster at the Fraumünster School, who organized some of the student moves from Zurich to the University of Basel, complained that, in Zurich, former students who were now ministers were allowed to marry much too young. He agreed that students should be chaste and even wanted to extend the

period into the years of the ministry.<sup>2</sup> In the end, conduct was required that was considered beneficial for learning: diligence and obedience.

While the church provided the tradition for the rules of moral conduct, the curriculum was the choice of a network of teachers. Thus, it would have been entirely possible to suggest different editions of the epistles of Cicero, but the regulations required the use of an edition by Johannes Sturm. The choice was probably a sign of connections to other schools and learning traditions of the time, such as Sturm's Gymnasium at Strasbourg.

This analysis of the regulations raises many issues. In the first instance, there was less emphasis on the three-language institution with an emphasis on Greek. In addition, learning Hebrew seems less pronounced than in Zwingli's galvanizing proposal of 1523.<sup>3</sup> The Hebrew lecture was given to assistants which changed annually rather than to a designated professor. Students were confined to learning mostly Latin, the language they were supposed to speak in class.

How common was writing in early sixteenth-century Zürich that compared texts—notably the Bible—in different languages? Certainly there were many book editions. Probably the most important was the German Bible of 1531, which was the result of a comparative analysis of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin versions of the Bible, and the theoretical works on a philosophy of comparative linguistics by Theodor Bibliander.<sup>4</sup>

The second issue concerns the connection of theology and lay erudition: did values in the code of conduct change, or were they completely conformable to the developing church? Were there explicit requests for change that were articulated in the school regulations or were the regulations an elaborate list of “best practices”?<sup>5</sup> The school regulations tried in at least two ways to change their administration. First, the regulations were meant to be read out loud and

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2 Heinrich Bullinger, *Briefe des Jahres 1541*, Heinrich Bullinger Werke, 2nd part, vol. 11, ed. Rainer Henrich, Alexandra Kress, Christian Moser (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005), 183–84.

3 StAZ, G I, 84 (1523); *Ain Christenlich Ansehen*; Zwingli, *Wie man die jugendt in gu-o-ten sitten und christenlicher zucht*.

4 *Die Zürcher Bibel von 1531*. Bibliander, *De Ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*. This question will be answered by looking at daily practices in Parts 3 and 4 of this book.

5 Both are possible, and the famous writing by Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1606), serves well as a list of existing best practices but not as a fully developed theory: Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1606), transcribed from the 1893 Cassell & Company edition by David Price, accessed 2 May 2016, <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext04/adlrioh.htm>.

therefore to be impressed upon the memory of students and teachers at least once a year. Second, the participation of all students and faculty in the yearly exams was emphasized. As the writer told his readers, with the introduction of school regulations, the exams were to assume a central role in school life, a role that they had not had earlier.

The third issue is about the influence of this group of teachers and students beyond the school: Was there an open public sphere in which schools participated? Had a new social group established itself that was distinguished by its ability to speak Latin and to read the classics, foremost the Bible? What value did “being able to speak Latin” have in community life? The rules of conduct suggested a public sphere in which schools participated, but they also indicated that, beyond this participation, school itself provided a proper sphere based on the group relations of the students, a sphere that provided them with a set of defined rules.

Further, the school regulations contained two allusions to the formation of student identity. First, students were required to speak Latin, and second, non-gifted students were sent to the skilled trades. Both actions suggest the formation of a group with clearly defined practices and values. It remains unclear, however, why Latin was so desired in society. Were the students able to use it locally in Zurich or only for participation in an international scholarly community? These issues bring together the concepts of being a priest and creating a town elite: Why did the minister have to be learned? Was that a rhetorical vestige? One very small indication lies in the description of one canon's work in a Stift document of 1532. Heinrich Utinger frequently did translations for the town scribes to help them cope with Latin texts; he did so because the town scribe was not skilled enough to do his work properly.<sup>6</sup> But we do not know how much Latin town administrators had to know. For internal affairs, town papers remained written in German. Even the school minutes were written in German. The only Latin documents of the school were letters that went officially out of town or letters of recommendation for students. The reason why these documents were in Latin may lie in the growing importance of outside affairs as well as the growth of vernacular humanism that demanded a certain elegance and eloquence in daily practice. A telling example of this mix was a published exam disputation in theology at the Lectorium from 1597. The respondent Johann Rodolphus Steinbruchel dedicated the it in Latin to the town councilor Heinrich Bräm, a butcher, who would become town mayor in

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6 StaZ G I, 154, f. 4v–5r: 8. “Her Heinrich Utinger...desglichen wenn die statschriber nit latin kündend, mu<o>st er tollmetschen.”

1601–1607.<sup>7</sup> The dedication (see fig. 8) included a Latinization of Bräm's name and office: Henricus Braemius was presented as "Reipublicae Tigurinae Proconsul atque Signifero," proconsul of the Zurich republic and bearer of the flag, in the manner of the Roman republic.<sup>8</sup>

### The Convergence of the Educational Institutions in Zurich, 1523 to 1566

Before addressing these general issues, I would like to examine the sources in greater detail, mainly by making a comparison of changing school regulations in Zurich to see how they developed. The most important changes can be documented by comparing the school regulations of 1559 with the Grossmünster regulations of 1532, with the regulations for the German schools as of 1556, and with the regulations of the Alumnat, the boarding school at the Fraumünster church, formulated in 1538 and changed in 1566. I will focus on the connections between the three different schools in terms of education in languages, natural philosophy and theology, changes in the code of conduct, and, finally, on the idea of a church work force educated in these institutions and subsequently integrated into church positions. I would then like to evaluate the relationship between the school and the city council.

A direct comparison of the school regulations suggests those of 1559 developed from those of 1532 and did not emerge from the tradition begun with the reformation of the Grossmünster Stift in 1523. According to the Zurich archive tradition, the 1532 school regulations were set up by Heinrich Bullinger himself; an unknown archivist wrote the name of Bullinger in pencil on the top of the regulations.<sup>9</sup> In the early twentieth century, Emil Egli edited the school regulations of 1532 from the Grossmünster Stift documents in his *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation: In den Jahren 1519–1533*.<sup>10</sup> These school regulations concerned both Latin schools, but not the lectorium. Ever since Ulrich Ernst schematized the curriculum in a table he produced in 1879, the secondary literature has assumed that the fourth grade, the highest level of indicated classes (or "ordinations" as they were

7 See Martin Lassner, No. 2 Bräm, Heinrich (12/03/1999), *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, accessed 16 April 2016, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D18051.php?topdf=1>.

8 See *Zunft zum Widder seit 1336: Zunft-Geschichte*, accessed 16 April 2016, <http://www.zunft-widder.ch/zunft-geschichte.html>.

9 StaZ, G 1, 156.

10 Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation*, 821–24.

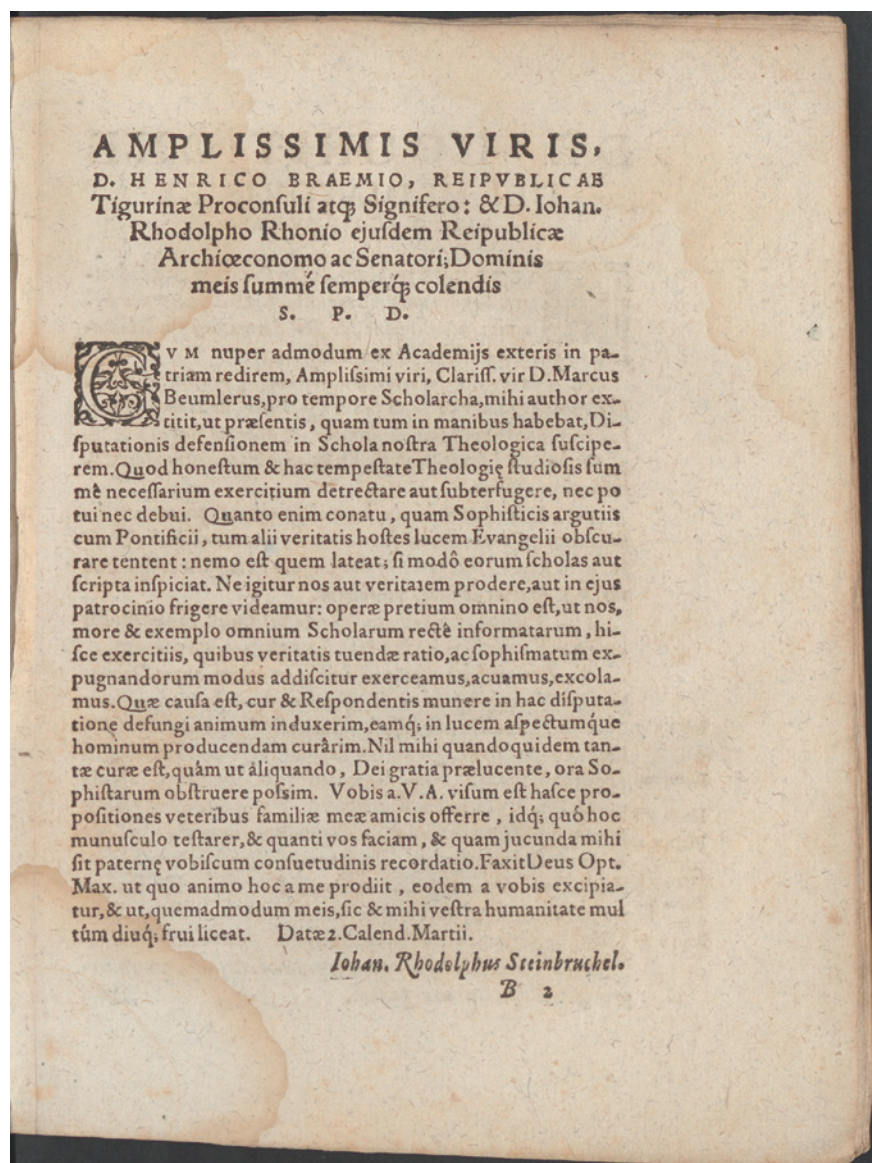


FIGURE 8 *Johann Rodolphus Steinbrüchel: Dedication to Heinrich Bräm, councilor of Zurich, and later from 1601–1607 Mayor. in: Markus Bäuml, Johann Rodolphus Steinbrüchel, De libro scripturae, secunda disputatio, ex psalmo xix (Zürich: Joh. Wolf, 1597), printer mark B 2. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Diss 111 44, 3*



called in the document) was identical with the lectorium; however, this was not the case.<sup>11</sup> This fact becomes evident once one reads in the 1532 Grossmünster Stift document that the dialectic and Greek lessons had to be given by the schoolmaster, in this case Jörg Binder. Nonetheless, we know that the lessons on Greek and dialectic in the lectorium were given by the four canons, Konrad Pellicanus, Rudolf Collinus, Theodor Bibliander, and Hans-Jacob Ammann, who had been integrated as scholars into the Grossmünster Stift from its reformation in 1523.

Emil Egli did not publish another series of documents that regulated the offices of the four lecturers in the lectorium, yet they existed. These other documents are however kept in three versions—1532, 1532–1534, and 1534—all in the same folder as the school regulations.<sup>12</sup> All three versions have almost the same wording but differ in small parts of the description. The 1532 document, for example, does not name a schoolmaster and has an additional lecturer for the lectorium, the famous Doctor Andreas Bodenstein of Karlstadt, active at the hospital, who was to give lessons, surprisingly not in physics or medicine, but in secular jurisprudence. His name was listed among the canons of the Grossmünster Stift. In 1534, he left for a position as professor at the University of Basel.<sup>13</sup> The 1532 document did not specify his teaching any further; it only commented that his language was too uncommon to be understood well. He seemed to have had a very strange accent.

In a fourth document of 1540, the subject “*physica*” was mentioned without giving the name of a lecturer but with the addition of “arts” (“*Künste*”).<sup>14</sup> The two versions of the Stift document of 1532–1534 and 1534 did not mention Bodenstein or the subjects of jurisprudence or physics.

New to these documents was the name of a schoolmaster, Jörg Binder, who had been in charge of the Latin school for the previous fifteen years; he finally received a canon position in 1534.

11 This is a table of which Egli himself claims authorship: Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation*, 824; cf. Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 91.

12 StAZ G I, 154 (1532); StAZ, G I, 155 (1532–1534); StAZ G I, 170 (1534); and then there is a 1532 and 1540 updated version of the 1523 Stift reformation regulation that also bears the names of the lecturers: StAZ G I, 86, 42–43. Its style was different from the last three because it referred to a different original document, the one of 1523, *Ain Christenlich Ansehen*. Here in the 1540 version, not the 1523 though, *physica* is named as a subject of the lectorium, next to *Lectio Theologica* combined with Hebrew, Latin, and Greek.

13 See Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, “Bodenstein, Andreas,” in *Biographisch Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 1 (Hamm: Bautz, 1990), cols. 652–55.

14 See the note 12.

In spite of their differences, all three documents give an overview of how the annual resources of the Grossmünster Stift were divided into eighteen parts and how they were connected to different functions within the Stift. Among these eighteen parts, fifteen support the fifteen canons of the Stift, amongst whom were four with the explicit function of “scholars.” Konrad Pellicanus was in charge of studies of the Old Testament and Hebrew; Hans-Jacob Ammann and Rudolf Bühler, named Collinus, supervised Latin and Greek; and finally Theodor Buchmann, or Bibliander, supervised the teaching of the Old Testament and the languages, presumably Greek and Hebrew. Schoolmaster Jörg Binder received one part from 1534, “preacher” (“Prädikant”) Heinrich Bullinger another; nine parts funded the canons who had already received benefices before the Reformation; one part was shared by two clerks; and, after 1534, the last two parts went completely to “the studies” (primarily to underwrite scholarships).

The obligations of the scholars were listed next to their names. Comparing the documents of 1532 and 1534, it is striking that the descriptions of Konrad Pellicanus’s and Theodor Bibliander’s tasks in the lectorium changed. In 1532, Bibliander was in charge of all tasks; in the documents of 1532–1534 and 1534 he was to give lessons merely in Hebrew. The document of 1532 only mentioned that Pellicanus had read the Old Testament and translated it from Hebrew to Latin.

Finally, in the revised curriculum from the Stift reformation document of 1540 (the fourth document), both men were to perform the same tasks—to read the Bible and to teach Hebrew—substituting for each other on a daily basis. Moreover lectures in Latin and Greek were delivered only to students yet the lectures on the Bible were explicitly open to everybody.

The school regulations of 1532 did not clarify the position of the lectorium—in fact, did not even mention it. There is no hint about how school and lectorium fitted together. One reason could be that the lectorium claimed to be for everybody interested as the obligations of the four scholar canons reveal. In the two document traditions, the school is described differently from the lectorium. Its regulations—the first document tradition—only organized the classes in the Latin school, whereas the four documents on the reorganization of the Grossmünster Stift that were rewritten from the original of 1523—in 1532, 1532–1534, 1534, and 1540—included lists of canons with their assigned teaching subjects. The tradition of the regulations stated rules, the other merely indicated the obligations of the teaching canons.

The precise description of the four lecturers’ duties in the text of 1532 (1), published in the appendix of this book, reveals the similarities of these latter

documents to what then became the school regulations of 1559. The appendix also includes the variations of (2) 1532–34, (3) 1534, and the script from the Stift reformation (4) in 1523, and also (5) in 1540.<sup>15</sup> Viewed together, the school regulations and the lectorium staff's description documents give, relatively independently, an account of how the school and lectorium operated. In fact, when combined they follow a similar formal pattern to the regulations of 1559, with the lectorium based on the names and duties of the teachers and the school subjects simply generally mentioned. The documents retain the tradition already developed in 1523 when Zwingli treated the school in one paragraph, separate from the teaching of the lecturers. Similarly to the later documents, Zwingli described the lecturers' teaching based on their individual names and abilities.

In 1559, the lecturers of the lectorium continued to be held in high personal esteem by the school administrative leaders, as demonstrated in the regulations by having them write their own textbooks. Those writing the curriculum for the 1559 regulations generally searched for new textbooks; this was also true for the Latin school. The Mummellius Latin grammar for the third grade, for example, was replaced by the newer Sturm's Cicero letters.

As already mentioned, the practice of sending students to foreign universities had already been regulated by another set of documents, the scholarship regulations. The first students going to foreign university with a Stift stipend were recorded as early as 1527.

There are some differences between the formally confirmed 1559 school regulation and the 1532 documents. With its solemn confirmation by the town council, the 1559 document was official. The school regulations of 1532 seemed more like simple letters than a binding contract. Also, the idea of reading the regulations aloud in front of the members of the school was not written down on paper in 1532. The number of school classes referred to in the 1559 document grew to five, and the lectorium was integrated as a separate upper form to the didactically refined Latin schools—an upper form open to talented students who had passed the fifth class.<sup>16</sup> In general, the tone of measures governing conduct was more rigid in 1559 than in 1532. The regulations of 1559 not only governed daily behavior—where to be at what hour, and how to behave

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>16</sup> Since the Latin schools are not the primary focus of this study, a more sophisticated comparison of didactics and how didactic measures figure in the regulations seems to be out of place here.

in church—but also outlined punishments for students who broke them. The only disciplinary measures in the school regulations of 1532 concerned the students' twice-yearly examinations.

It is clear that the regulations of 1559 open up the idea of a connected “system” of different Zurich town schools. This point can be illuminated by comparing these regulations with the regulations provided by the Alumnat in 1538 and 1566 and with those of the German school set into practice in 1556. The regulations for the Alumnat at the Fraumünster School of 1538 and 1566 placed more emphasis on disciplinary orders than the rules of 1559 but did not extend to the readings in classes. They set strict guidelines for the acceptance of pupils into the boarding school as well as for their and their schoolmaster's behavior. In 1566, three new features were emphasized: the students were only allowed to talk in Latin in this boarding school; the students were to obey the school regulations governing their classes in the Latin school or in the lecture room; and the students were to be sent to foreign university for study, once they were good enough to take advantage of the opportunity. Unlike the students of the Grossmünster Stift, the students of the Alumnat had to repay their foreign scholarship at a later date. These three features connected the Alumnat to the existing Latin schools and the lecture room as part of a broader Zurich school system.<sup>17</sup>

The schoolmaster had the responsibility of looking after the students, helping them with their homework, and reading the school regulations of the Alumnat aloud in front of the class as often as necessary. Differing from the Alumnat regulations of 1538, which provided the schoolmaster many more rights to change the curriculum and even the regulations according to his liking, the 1566 regulations made clear that the Alumnat was connected in its learning structure to the Latin schools and lecture room.<sup>18</sup>

The regulations of 1559 stated that no students should be accepted to the Latin schools, who had not attended the German schools or their equivalent.

17 StAZ, E II 440, 179–192: Ordnungen und satzungen gestellt den fünffzaehen laernenden knaben zu dem Frowenmünster. Critical Edition: Heinrich Bullinger, *Schriften zum Tage*, ed. Hans Ulrich Bächtold, Ruth Jörg, and Christian Moser, Studien und Texte zur Bullingerzeit 3 (Zug: Achius, 2006), 241–60. Translation into contemporary German: Heinrich Bullinger, *Schriften VI*, ed. Emidio Campi, Detlef Roth, and Peter Stotz (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2006), 417–34.

18 StAZ, 14.1, 37: “Ob aber mit der Zijtt (alls die Zijt und // der bruch oder die uchung allerleij leert) ettwas wÿters vom // Zuchtmeister funden wurde das ouch guot und nottwendig // were, hat er gewalt das zu ordnen und gepruchen: doch // das er soemlichs zu vor den verordneten über die schulfürfrage.”

The regulations for the German schools were revised in 1556 when two German schools, one for each of the two parts of Zürich on either side of the river, were established.<sup>19</sup> The most striking feature of these new German schools was their emphasis on learning reading by using the Bible and also on learning the catechism. The school masters were even asked to collect thoughts from Solomon, instead of from Cato who was the usual source for proverbs, to teach morality along with the alphabet. Other than German and biblical readings, these schools also taught the beginnings of letter-writing in German and the organization of simple calculation tables. As the regulations evolved, the different educational institutions of Zürich appear to become more integrated with one another.

### The School Regulations in Their European Context

Were the Zürich school regulations affected by external influences, such as the educational models offered by Johannes Sturm in Strasbourg and, above all, of Philip Melancthon in Wittenberg? In order to examine this point, we need to make a formal and contextual comparison of the aims and measures that were enforced by the Zürich regulations. Ideally, one would approach this question from three different angles: Was information about schooling communicated in letters by external colleagues and friends to members of the school government? How did school regulations function in different school complexes around Europe? And, finally, what curriculum similarities and differences are evident in the regulations themselves? Although the second question draws on the form of the documents and their use, the first and last compare and individually judge the content of the regulations and their background, such as the tasks singled out in the regulations, the implicit school goals, the curriculum, evaluations of students, the pedagogical method for each academic subject, the role of the teachers, and the nature of student assignments.

An appropriate starting point is research into the personal connections between Zürich and outsiders documented through the exchange of visits, letters, and dedications with content concerning pedagogical matters. One important case study is the exchange of letters between Heinrich Bullinger and Philip Melancthon. The *Melancthon Forschungsstelle* at the *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* has put online searchable registers of all of Melancthon's

19 StAZ, E I 18,1 f. 1.1r–1.2v. Critical Edition: Heinrich Bullinger, *Schriften zum Tage*, 175–184. Translation into contemporary German: Bullinger, *Schriften VI*, 333–42.

letters, to and from individual addressees from all over Europe.<sup>20</sup> At first sight, a look into the pedagogical content of these letters appears to be promising. Letters containing aspects on schooling number in the hundreds. The search for “Schule” identified 225 letters and the search for “Universität” yielded 1001. The search for “Schulmeister” generated 76 results; the search for “Schulordnung” (school regulations) and “Statuten” returned 23 results. Even one of the more marginal liberal arts subjects, “Mathematik,” yielded 32 results. Unfortunately, these terms do not occur in Melanchthon’s correspondence with Zurich scholars. The highest number of letter exchanges were with Heinrich Bullinger. Between 1536 and 1559, Bullinger wrote fourteen letters to Melanchthon while Huldrych Zwingli (ca. 1527), Peter Martyr Vermigli (1557), and Johannes Wolf (1557) only wrote one each. Between 1536 and 1559, Melanchthon wrote twelve letters to Zurich, eleven of those were to Bullinger and one to Jacobus Acontius, who was an Italian religious refugee, scholar of law and theology, and engineer, but he was only passing through Zurich and heading to Strasbourg in 1557, and ultimately, to England.<sup>21</sup>

The surviving exchange of letters between Philip Melanchthon and Zurich’s intellectuals does not reveal much about a shared pedagogical approach. We gather only that the Zurich professors sent their greetings together on the bottom of Bullinger’s official letters and that Melanchthon invited several students from Zurich to live in his house and eat at his table in Wittenberg.<sup>22</sup> In fact, Bullinger’s letters to Melanchthon dealt mainly with issues of biblical interpretation and included copies of his latest publications on that matter. He was also very concerned about the controversy over the Last Supper that raged between Lutherans and Zwinglians. The residents of Zurich had not signed the Augsburg Confession, and their faith was not tolerated in the Holy Roman Empire. This had consequences for schools: students were not

20 Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften: Forschungsstelle Melanchthon-Briefwechsel, <http://www.haw.uni-heidelberg.de/forschung/forschungsstellen/melanchthon/projekt.de.html>, accessed 13 April 2016.

21 Arthur Richter, “Acontius, Jacob,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 1 (1875), 40–41, [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Acontius,\\_Jacob](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Acontius,_Jacob), accessed 16 April 2016.

22 Melanchthon letter exchange, at Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften: Forschungsstelle Melanchthon-Briefwechsel, accessed 13 April 2016, <http://www.haw.uni-heidelberg.de/forschung/forschungsstellen/melanchthon/mbw-online.de.html>; Zurich professors together: Regesta 3327 (1543), 3596 (1544), 3748 (1544), 4213 (1546), 8013 (1556), 8408 (1557); Melanchthon invitation: Ibid., Regesta 7561 (1555), 7747 (1556), 8013 (1556), 8656 (1558).

permitted to earn a master's degree at many universities in the Holy Roman Empire, not even in Wittenberg. They would have had to sign the Confession to do so which the Zurich church did not allow.<sup>23</sup> Even though the database of Melancthon's letter exchanges is in general a very valuable tool for pedagogical research, in the case of Zurich it does not address matters concerning school administration.

Our remaining approaches depend on comparisons of different regulations and considering the workings of school regulations and their content. We begin with a comparative investigation of the terms used to describe educational institutions since the Zurich Schola Tigurina cannot be clearly assigned to any specific school type. In fact, it shows a resemblance to several different types that were described by terms such as *Lateinschule* (Latin school), *Gymnasium*, *Lectorium*, *Lectiones publicae/privatae*, *Hohe Schule*, (institute of higher education), *Academie*, and, finally, *Universität* (university). This multiplicity of expressions was also used by contemporaries for other schools.

Based on their geographical location, the two Latin schools that belonged to the Zurich system of higher education as *lectiones privatae* were called the *upper* and *lower* school. The Grossmünster school was the upper and the Fraumünster School was the lower Latin school.<sup>24</sup> Gerhard Menk found an analogous phenomenon in the *Hohe Schule* established in Herborn in 1584.<sup>25</sup> The terms *Universität*, *Akademie*, *Gymnasium Illustre*, *Hohe Schule*, and *Hohe Landesschule* (regional institute of higher education) were seldom distinguished in describing the institution in Herborn, nor did the terms show

23 Bullinger's letters to his son in Strasbourg and Wittenberg reveal the values behind his decisions for Zurich students to go to foreign universities. See Goeing, "In die Fremde schicken." There are further bibliographical notes about the letters to Bullinger's son.

24 Büsser, "Die Kirchlichen Institutionen im Reformierten Zürich des 16. Jahrhunderts," 225, summarizes Ludwig Lavater, *De Ritibus et Institutis ecclesiae Tigurinae*, 1st ed. (Zurich: Froschauer, 1559), Ch. 18: "Im 18. Kapitel berichtet er sodann über die für die Ausbildung der zukünftigen Pfarrer besonders wichtige Einrichtung der sog. Prophezei, der *lectiones publicae*: In Gymnasio Tigurino loco horarum, ut vocant, *canonicarum*, habentur *publicae lectiones* in Theologia, Linguis, et bonis artibus...." Büsser uses the proper expression "sogenannte Prophezei" (so-called Prophezei) together with the contemporary expression "*lectiones publicae*" to name the school, Lavater calls the school differently, he has here two names for the format: "Gymnasium" and "*publicae lectiones*." The expression Gymnasium is not taken over into the school regulations, there is only "*lectorium*."

25 Gerhard Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit (1584–1660). Ein Beitrag zum Hochschulwesen des deutschen Calvinismus im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau 30 (Wiesbaden: Selbstverlag der Historischen Kommission für Nassau, 1981), 119.

a differentiation between “the external form of organization, the inner structure, and the scholarly level.”<sup>26</sup> Menk adds that the mixture of different terms was not only a feature of daily language but also of the legal literature.<sup>27</sup> We can assume that the varied terms used in the 1559 regulations to describe the Zurich schools overlapped, blending terms used in Zurich publications and at the town council meetings.

In contrast to primary sources, the secondary literature makes a sharp distinction between university and all other school forms embodied in privileges and charters.<sup>28</sup> This division does not work for this case study. Rather, there are several areas of similarity between the Zurich Lectorium and the universities. The statutes of the universities, especially the bylaws and articles that regulated teaching and student behavior reveal comparable pedagogical goals.<sup>29</sup> The universities relevant here—those whose bylaws changed considerably—were in Basel, Wittenberg, Marburg, and Heidelberg, all universities of the budding Reformation. They are also relevant because they were the places where students from Zurich were sent by Zurich scholars to study on a grant from the Grossmünster Stift.<sup>30</sup>

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26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Robert Gramsch in his review of the book by Beat Immenhäuser, *Bildungswege—Lebenswege. Universitätsbesucher aus dem Bistum Konstanz im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Schwabe, 2007) as of 28 January 2008 wrote on the website <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2008-1-074.pdf> even of a “universitätsgeschichtlichen Genre” within the research literature. However, when Willem Frijhoff summarizes the different typologies of early modern university, he draws the conclusion that a sharp separation between higher education in school and education in universities is not justifiable, neither concerning the content, nor the form, because the types of institutions are overlapping and not clearly divided one from the other: Willem Th. Frijhoff, “Patterns,” in *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, A History of the University in Europe 2, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1996), 53.

29 Cf. Walter Friedensburg: *Urkundenbuch an der Universität Wittenberg 1–11*, Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt, Neue Reihe, 3f (Magdeburg: Selbstverlag der Historischen Kommission, 1926–1927), for example vol. 1, 255–77: The Statutes by Melanchthon for the University of Wittenberg from 1545.

30 An overview of the situation of the sources that includes every university of the former German Reich and that indicates with subchapters to privileges, statutes, and teaching material, separated for each university, is volume 2 (1904) of: Wilhelm Erman and Ewald Horn, *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten: systematisch geordnetes Verzeichnis der bis Ende 1899 gedruckten Bücher und Aufsätze über das deutsche Universitätswesen*, 3 vols., for the Prussian Ministry of Teaching (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904–1905).



Similarly, the newly established institutes of higher education and academies developed comparable organizations and curricula. This happened in the Swiss Confederation—in Berne and Lausanne—and in the independent republic of Geneva, as well as the Holy Roman Empire—including, in particular, the Gymnasium illustre in Strasbourg and the institutes of higher education in Herborn, Altdorf, and Lauingen.

From the time of their foundation, the universities had two different affiliated institutions, administered by the town or the church, whose purposes were analogous to the Zurich Latin schools. First, there were the preparatory *Paedagogien*, a kind of college that could be found in Tübingen, Marburg, and Leuven.<sup>31</sup> Then there were the *bursae*, or student hostels, which not only accommodated students but, from medieval times on, also offered their own courses in the *artes liberales*.<sup>32</sup> The connection between these sub-institutions and the overarching statutes of the university reveal a link similar to that in Zurich between the Latin schools, the boarding place at the Alumnat, and the lectorium. These analogous, complex bonds might have resulted in similarly analogous educational ideas.

In the Holy Roman Empire, models were established that shaped the terminology and concepts of education. The secondary literature classifies the Latin schools and institutes of higher education of the Holy Roman Empire according to the main thinkers to which they can best be linked. In the Protestant regions, these figures were Philip Melancthon, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Johannes Sturm. In the Roman Catholic regions, they were mainly the Jesuits.<sup>33</sup> Friedrich Paulsen (1896) provided the most elaborate description of

31 Arnd Friedrich, *Die Gelehrtenschulen in Marburg, Kassel und Korbach zwischen Melancthonianismus und Ramismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte 47 (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1983). Arnd Friedrich, "Das Pädagogium der Universität Marburg," in *Melancthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527–1627)*, 2 vols., ed. Barbara Bauer (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 1999), vol. 2, 707–36.

32 The *bursae* of Vienna are extensively discussed in the secondary literature: Kurt Mühlberger, "Wiener Studentenbursen und Kodreien im Wandel vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert," in *Aspekte der Bildungs- und Universitätsgeschichte: 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Kurt Mühlberger and Thomas Maisel, Schriftenreihe des Universitätsarchivs 7 (Wien: Wiener Universitätsverlag, 1993), 129–90.

33 Friedrich Roth, *Der Einfluss des Humanismus und der Reformation auf das gleichzeitige Erziehungs- und Schulwesen bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte nach Melancthons Tod*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 60 (Halle: Comm-Verl. von Max Niemeyer u.a. and Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1898), 46–50. Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des*

these institutions. In the second chapter of the first volume of his *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, he explained the Protestant and Catholic development of learned schools between 1520 and 1600 in German territories on the basis of a large number of school regulations.<sup>34</sup> In his view, the centre of all innovation was the work of Philip Melanchthon and his students who were spreading new ideas all over the Old Reich. Johannes Sturm is the only name among prominent scholars of the Protestant Reformation that he does not connect to Melanchthon. As in the case of the Jesuits, Sturm's curriculum—be it in particular town Latin schools or in state schools preparing students for university—was based on variants of humanist thinking, sometimes including more Greek, sometimes more rhetoric. Paulsen did not consider the idea of learning in its contexts, for example, that Cicero teaching at one place could mean something different from Cicero at another school. He also did not consider the value of the document's frame of reference, overlooking what the school regulations said about the actual politics between town, duke, church, and school masters.

In recent times, Arno Seifert reviewed and rethought these proposed combinations of influences.<sup>35</sup> Like Paulsen, he included institutes of higher education and universities in his studies, and in his examples, he similarly referred to the Melanchthonian strongholds of Wittenberg and Marburg, the Sturmian model in Strasbourg, and the Jesuits. Unlike his predecessors, who kept quiet

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*Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den klassischen Unterricht*, 3rd ext. ed., vol. 1, ed. Rudolf Lehmann (Leipzig: von Veit & Comp., 1919), 216–464. Josef Dolch, *Lehrplan des Abendlandes, Zweieinhalb Jahrtausende seiner Geschichte*. 3. Aufl. (Ratingen: Hein, 1971), 198–265. Since Dolch provides an analysis of the school regulations, his work can be valued as the immediate forerunner for the analysis proposed here. He does not discuss the origin of concepts but describes the curriculum. A comparison is given on a terminological level with a very generic compilation of terms for subjects (pp. 216–23). The terms give directions but are not contentually extensively treated. Arno Seifert, “Das höhere Schulwesen. Universitäten und Gymnasien,” in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. Christa Berg, vol. 1, 15–17. Notker Hammerstein, ed., *Jahrhundert: Von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 282–331 examines both, institutes of higher education and universities, and refers in his examples specifically to Wittenberg and Marburg, the strongholds of Melanchthon, the model of Sturm in Strasbourg, and the Jesuits. He only mentions on a few pages, however, the Calvinist academies and the territorial schooling system. The later confessional period receives sparse room (pp. 332–345) and is occupied less with school models and more with the intellectual claim of teaching.

34 Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig: Veit, 1896), 147–452.

35 Seifert, “Das höhere Schulwesen,” 282–331.

on Calvinistic and crypto-Calvinistic influences and other religious affiliations, Seifert mentioned the Calvinistic institutes of higher education and the school systems belonging to the single territorial states.<sup>36</sup> The later confessional era, for example, the seventeenth century, did not receive much attention in his treatise, which emphasized the intellectual demands of teaching rather than concentrating on types of school.<sup>37</sup>

Despite these efforts to classify the schools in general, a different type of micro-historical and regional research predominates today, one which focuses exclusively on the development of a single town school. These many authors individually map out a heterogeneous landscape of single types without systematically comparing terminologies or concepts or relating one model to the others.<sup>38</sup> These studies take many forms: the monograph on one institution, the presentation of one institution through the centuries, in a volume of collected essays for the anniversary of the institution, and, finally, the analysis of one aspect of school history, such as school regulations, school enrolment lists, or textbooks. In the cases of single institutions, the authors link their research to the political situation in the town, an approach that historians, in particular, see as fruitful because they view the school as socially integrative.<sup>39</sup> Few of these studies, however, adopt a comparative approach.

36 Seifert, "Das höhere Schulwesen," 298–99. Compare especially the research perspective and the overview on research history of Calvinist school provided by Stefan Ehrenpreis, who researches the reformed people in the Old Reich, the Republic of the Netherlands, and England between 1600 and 1750: Schilling and Ehrenpreis, eds., *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten*; Stefan Ehrenpreis, "Reformed Education in Early Modern Europe: A Survey," in *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin, Dutch review of Church History 54 (Leiden, 2006), 39–51. Stefan Ehrenpreis, "Das frühneuzeitliche Elementarschulwesen: Statik und Dynamik," in *Zwischen christlicher Tradition und Aufbruch in die Moderne. Das Hallesche Waisenhaus im bildungsgeschichtlichen Kontext*, ed. Juliane Jacobi, Hallesche Forschungen 22 (Tübingen: Verl. der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max-Niemeyer-Verl., 2007), 147–68; Agnes Winter, *Das Gelehrtenschulwesen der Residenzstadt Berlin in der Zeit von Konfessionalisierung, Pietismus und Frühaufklärung (1574–1740)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte 34 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 2008).

37 Ibid., 332–45.

38 This statement relies on the part of secondary literature that the Karlsruher virtuelle Katalog provided, an international collection of library data bases. The search keyword was "Lateinschulen": <http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html>.

39 For the approach, cf. Walter Bauer, *Die Reichsstadt Rothenburg und ihre Lateinschule* (Rothenburg o.d. Tauber: Verl. d. Vereins Alt-Rothenburg, 1979 [diss., University of Würzburg, 1978]).

Bibliographies listing sources round off the studies in the secondary literature. Scholarly research into the university statutes of the Holy Roman Empire is far from complete even though the statutes and all sorts of additional material were collected in bibliographies as early as 1904.<sup>40</sup> The critical edition of the statutes and regulations of Heidelberg University, the *Amtsbücher* (official books), stands out as an ideal reference work among publications of sources. With its seven volumes appearing between 1986 and 2008, the publication spans the period from 1386 to 1618.<sup>41</sup> A bibliographical system of school statutes along the lines of this model does not yet exist although an excellent and representative choice of important regulations for schools in the Holy Roman Empire can be found in the volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*.<sup>42</sup> In addition, there are editions of school statutes and regulations in individual publications and other collected volumes, such as the *Corpus Reformatorum* with compiled texts by Philip Melancthon and the collections of church statutes that often include proper school statutes.<sup>43</sup>

Beyond the Holy Roman Empire, there are fewer collections of school statutes but rather studies about single institutions that operate on a large chronological range, such as the institutions of higher education and academies in

40 Erman and Horn, *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten*, vol. 2, 1904.

41 *Die Amtsbücher der Universität Heidelberg = Libri actorum Universitatis Heidelbergensis*, ed. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für die Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986–).

42 *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, ed. by Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte, 62 vols. and 3 supplement vols. (Berlin: Hofmann, 1886–1938). See especially Friedrich Koldewey, ed., *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, vol. 1: *Schulordnungen der Stadt Braunschweig*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* 1 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1886) and Friedrich Koldewey, ed., *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, vol. 2: *Schulordnungen des Herzogtums Braunschweig: mit Ausschluss der Hauptstadt des Landes vom Jahre 1248–1826*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* 8 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1890). Another collection of sources is Reinhold Vormbaum, ed., *Evangelische Schulordnungen, 1: Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1860).

43 Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider (1–15) and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (16–28), eds., *Corpus Reformatorum, Opera quae supersunt omnia* (Halle/S., Braunschweig, 1834–60; reprint Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1963), vol. 12. Melancthon-Kommission of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, ed., *Supplementa Melancthoniana, Werke Philipp Melancthons, die im Corpus Reformatorum vermißt werden*, vol. 1, 1–VI 1 (Leipzig, 1912–26; reprint Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1968). Karl Hartfelder, ed., *Melancthoniana Paedagogica, Eine Ergänzung zu den Werken Melancthons im Corpus Reformatorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892).

Switzerland; the universities of Oxford, Leuven, and Amsterdam; and the schools of Venice.<sup>44</sup> The meticulous study by Franz Heinemann on the school system of Fribourg in Üchtland deserves special mention in the Swiss context. His research covered town history from late medieval times to the establishment of the Jesuit school in 1581.<sup>45</sup>

The variety of institutional arrangements raises the question of how to compare and classify the different school regulations and how to place the Zurich school among them. A look at the different types of regulation would help to reevaluate the educational era between the Reformation and the era of confessionalism. Our topic of inquiry, a comparative view of school regulations, has no direct predecessors in the secondary literature except for the reference works of Friedrich Paulsen, Josef Dolch, and Arno Seifert.<sup>46</sup> One potential approach might be to construct a critical table comprising the many heterogeneous articles included in the Internet database *Wikipedia* to systematize the terminological knowledge that we already have. A critical view of this could help to uncover the names of single schools and produce effective higher-level keywords for searching databases, such as "Latin school." But this sort of data mining remains to be done. The comparisons I have made for the German speaking context, but also with Geneva, can be roughly differentiated and grouped according to the type of document and to the type of school and the profile of their founder.

Because no detailed comparisons can be found in the secondary literature, we can only postulate a number of assumptions about the nature of regulations in the Holy Roman Empire. First, it is possible that the collection of regulations available to us today is a heterogeneous body of documents that was created for different functions and purposes. We can see this by the form of the individual regulations: by whether they were printed or whether they

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44 One example offers an extensive description of the history of Oxford: Trevor Henry Aston, *The History of the University of Oxford*, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984–2000).

45 Franz Heinemann, "Geschichte des Schul- und Bildungslebens im alten Freiburg bis zum 17. Jahrhundert," *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter* 2 (1895): 1–146. Franz Heinemann, *Das sogenannte Katharinenbuch vom Jahre 1577* (Freiburg: Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1896); further works on Freiburg in this connection: André-Jean Marquis, *Le Collège Saint-Michel de Fribourg (Suisse) Sa Fondation et ses Débuts 1579–1597*, Archives de la Société d'Histoire du Canton de Fribourg 20 (Fribourg [Suisse]: Imprimerie St. Paul, 1969); Nicolas Morard: "'Grande' et 'Petite' école: 'Magister' et 'Magistra' à Fribourg (1249–1425)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse* 81 (1987): 83–104.

46 Hubert Hettwer, *Herkunft und Zusammenhang der Schulordnungen: eine vergleichende Studie* (Mainz: Hase & Koehler, 1965).

existed only as handwritten manuscripts, and by the language in which they were composed. Two types can be discerned: one is the regulation composed in the different *volgare* and the other is the Latin version of the school regulations. Sometimes both versions of the same regulations were in circulation at the same time. We can therefore assume that different forms of representation were needed and also that maybe different groups of recipients were directly addressed. The different functions of the regulations are also distinguishable according to the extent to which they governed internal matters, such as the salary of the lecturers and student scholarships. A further distinct characteristic of the functions of the manuscript can be found in the text itself, as for example, in the order to read the school regulations aloud.

The school regulations kept in archives can be classified into three groups according to their function. Two groups are characterized by form: charters that were authenticated with seals and signatures, for example, the university privileges given by the pope and/or emperor for the foundation of a university, such as Heidelberg, and documents that were designed for a broader audience and were therefore printed, such as the 1559 regulations of Württemberg. The third group included a binding system of rules that was read aloud, sometimes repeatedly, to a clearly confined public, such as the one in Zurich. The goal was not only to make the regulations known to the people present but to get them to behave accordingly. These rules for work and conduct were often composed in the vernacular language while the charters were written from medieval times on in Latin. The second kind of representations were published in Latin although they were also published (somewhat rarely) in the vernacular. It is important to notice that complex school systems often did not reduce themselves to only one scheme but had all three forms of regulations at the same time, such as the very well-documented University of Heidelberg.

Zurich had two different ways of representing the regulations. In the first case, the documents for regulating the schools were written in German, approved by the town, and read regularly every year to a clearly defined and affiliated audience. But, at the same time, a book of regulations appeared in 1559 in a Latin text devoted to the practices of the Zurich church. Ludwig Lavater, former student of the lectorium and minister at the Grossmünster church, summarized the organization of the Zurich church in his book *De Ritibus et Institutis ecclesiae Tigurinae*.<sup>47</sup> There, at the very moment when the new school

47 Ludwig Lavater, *De Ritibus et Institutis ecclesiae Tigurinae* (1st ed., Zurich: Froschauer, 1559; 2nd ed., 1567); enlarged by the notes of Johann Ott in the third edition in 1702. For a new reading see also Irena Backus, "Reformation Culture," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation*, ed. Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; v. 72 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 567–589.

regulations had been signed by town officials, Lavater embedded the schools of Zürich completely in the church organization. He dedicated five chapters to the important elements of schooling in Zürich (1. *De examine Theologico*; 17. *De scholis*; 18. *De Lectionibus publicis*; 19. *De Bibliotheca*; 20. *De Collegiis et Ecclesiae alumnis*). In his seventeenth chapter, he described Latin and Greek studies in five grades and two schools; in his eighteenth chapter, he wrote about the educational formation of ministers: “In Gymnasio Tigurino loco horarum, ut vocant, canonicarum, habentur publicae lectiones in Theologia, Linguis, et bonis artibus.”<sup>48</sup> Lavater did not cite the actual text of the regulations, but he gave an overview of the goals of the schools within the church. His book claimed the schools as part of church supervision and guidance, and, not least, as part of the whole organization of the church in Zürich.

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By comparing school regulations, we can see not only how they functioned but also if and how they connected to town and church policy. Many of the newly enacted school regulations, for example those written by one of Philip Melancthon's closest followers in Northern Germany, Johannes Bugenhagen, and also those of Württemberg (1559) attributed to Johannes Brenz, were not town regulations but enacted by the regional church.<sup>49</sup>

In 1902, Emil Sehling started to publish all of the Lutheran church regulations of the German regions that were written between 1520 and 1600.<sup>50</sup> The *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* is supervising the project nowadays, and their homepage shows that there were a number of connections among the different individual church regulations. A graphic by Thomas Bergholz shows that three church regulations were the main models for creating church regulations in South Western Germany. They were the regulation of Brandenburg-Nuremberg, of 1533, with dependencies including the Württemberg regulations of 1553/1559; the regulation of Pfalz-Zweibrücken of 1533/1539; and the draft for the reformation in Cologne by Martin Bucer of

48 Büsser, “Die Kirchlichen Institutionen im Reformierten Zürich des 16. Jahrhunderts,” 225.

49 Johannes Bugenhagen, *Johannes Bugenhagen's Kirchenordnung für die Stadt Hamburg vom Jahre 1529*. For the Bürgermeister Kellinghusen's Stiftung edited by D. Carl Bertheau (Hamburg: Lucas Gräfe, 1885), statutes on pages 28–46; Werner Dedekind, ed., *Die Schulordnungen des Katharineums zu Lübeck von 1531 bis 1891* (Lübeck: Borchers, 1911); Johannes Bugenhagen, *Braunschweiger Kirchenordnung 1528*, ed. Hans Lietzmann (Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1912).

50 Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. 19 vols. (Leipzig: Reisland, 1902–2010).

1543. Bergholz also shows that Melanchthon's Mecklenburger regulation of 1552 only influenced Pfalz-Zweibrücken (1557) and Hessen/Nassau (1566/1576) directly.<sup>51</sup> Many of the regulations he examined, but not all, integrated German schools and Latin schools under church surveillance, directly commanded by the dukes or other governors who were in charge of the local political entity. A few regulations included academies, and two of these, in Hamburg and Lübeck, were designed by Johannes Bugenhagen.

The scholarly discussion of the school regulations by Bugenhagen underscored the centrality and importance of the sections of the church regulations dealing with the schools in question. While in the cases of Eisleben (1525), Nuremberg (1526), Herzberg (1538), Bonn (1543), and Soest (1543), Melanchthon composed detailed letters to the governments in charge, Bugenhagen wrote the school statutes himself for Braunschweig (1528) and the lectorium statutes for Lübeck (1531) and Hamburg (1529).<sup>52</sup> Following the ideas of Melanchthon, Bugenhagen from the start integrated Greek instruction into the school and planned *lectoría* for those who wanted to become young ministers. Describing the main difference between the approaches of Bugenhagen and Melanchthon, Hans Oppermann rightly states that Bugenhagen accomplished what Melanchthon and Luther had indeed planned but never achieved: to incorporate Greek lectures into a Latin school.<sup>53</sup> The Zurich curriculum was close to Bugenhagen's scheme. As Ulrich Ernst describes in great detail, in

51 Thomas Bergholz, "Diagram." The internet link at <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~ffo/suedwestdeuts.htm> (accessed 7 December 2010) is inactive.

52 Melanchthon and Eisleben (1525), Nuremberg (1526), Herzberg (1538), Bonn (1543), and Soest (1543): cf. chiefly Hermann-Adolf Stempel, *Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken*, Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte 11 (Bielefeld: Luther-Verl, 1979) and Hermann-Adolf Stempel, "Eine Theologische Hochschule in städtischer Trägerschaft. Melanchthons Entwurf für Bonn," in *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes*, Köln xxvi (1977), 13–18. For Eisleben, see Siegfried Bräuer, "Die Gründung der 'christlichen Schule' zu Eisleben 1525," in Schlenker, *Philipp Melanchthon und das städtische Schulwesen Begleitband zur Ausstellung*, 81–96; Gerhard Arnhardt, "Das Curriculum für Eisleben (1525)—Auftakt für die Konstituierung des protestantischen Gelehrtenschulwesens," in Schlenker, *Philipp Melanchthon und das städtische Schulwesen*, 97–108. The sources are reprinted in Hartfelder, *Melanchthoniana Paedagogica*, 1–14; Reinhold Vormbaum, *Evangelische Schulordnungen, 1: Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh, 1860), 407–10; and Hermann-Adolf Stempel, "Melanchthons Schreiben 'An den Stadtrath zu Soest in Westphalen': Ein Entwurf für christliche Schulen," in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte*, Bethel bei Bielefeld, LXV (1972): 60–71.

53 Hans Oppermann, *Die Hamburgische Schulordnung Bugenhagens*, Vorträge und Aufsätze. Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte 14 (Hamburg: Christians, 1966), 15.



Zürich, Greek lectures were already taught in the lower forms of the Latin school.<sup>54</sup> Two different and distinct levels of teaching Greek were established: a lower level for the Latin school and an upper one for the lectorium, each with different teachers.<sup>55</sup>

In his Hamburg church regulations, Bugenhagen dedicated the first eight out of forty-eight chapters to the different kinds of schools he envisaged for Hamburg's reformation.<sup>56</sup> A very short fourth chapter covered the lectorium.<sup>57</sup> He foresaw two lawyers, one physician, one surgeon, and one theologian as the core staff, as well as prolonged Latin, Greek, and Hebrew instruction from the Latin schools. The lectorium was for the erudite town citizens, Latin writing and speaking was a must. German schools, Latin schools, and also the schools for girls represented lower forms of schooling. After discussing the schools, Bugenhagen explained the duties of the ministers and the organization of charity. The aim of training lawyers was fundamentally different from the wishes that informed the Zürich Lectorium and showed a different view of what was important for the local community. In Zürich, the theology lessons of the lectorium were much more pronounced; as early as 1523, they dominated instruction.

The integration of school statutes into church regulations reveals the general orientations of the schools' aims. For example, the goals of the schools were likely to vary according to how the municipal and religious uses of the school were defined. These goals depended on the question of whether the highest educational aim was preparation for a profession, such as the priesthood or ministry; a general education, such as the one offered by Jesuits; or if other aims were predominant. The attempted reform in Württemberg revealed that the printed school regulations were part of the general church reform regulations that aimed to standardize the school curricula throughout an entire dukedom. While Bullinger, Sturm, and Melanchthon always planned their curriculum for individual schools and adapted these to the schools' special needs, a number of attempts were made, as a result of Philip Melanchthon's ideas, to provide entire principalities with one standardized set of school regulations. These were intended to be as comprehensive as the regulations of the church they belonged to. This was the case with the 1559 school regulations in the principality of Württemberg, which contained highly elaborate rules adaptable even

54 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 58, 60, 89, 113.

55 Cf. Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 113.

56 Bugenhagen, *Johannes Bugenhagen's Kirchenordnung für die Stadt Hamburg vom Jahre 1529*, 28–48.

57 Ibid., 40–42.

to the smallest schools in the region.<sup>58</sup> They were part of a wide-ranging reform of Württemberg monasteries, churches, and schools and have been attributed to the then provost of the Stuttgart church, Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), who was already working together with Philip Melanchthon in 1530 when they formulated the Augsburg confession.<sup>59</sup> He was in charge of the school reforms in Württemberg.

Although the Württemberg school regulations promoted uniformity, school practices differed. The schools all operated without mathematics and in a class system of five grades and not three. Three features connected directly to Melanchthon's writings. First, classes were called "Haufen." Second, Melanchthon's textbooks were recommended for grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric, as well as for reading the *Proverbia Salomonem* (in the interpretation of Melanchthon). The only other contemporary teacher mentioned by name was Joachim Camerarius, a close friend of Melanchthon. Third, the students were required to stay in one class (longer than a year if necessary), until the required books were read and, where recommended, learned. Unfortunately, Melanchthon was not specifically invoked as an influence on these rules so any supposition about his guidance must remain informed speculation, like that made by leading Melanchthon experts, such as Gerhard Arnhardt in 1997.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, it seems legitimate to infer that the statutes of Württemberg listed didactic and disciplinary requirements that can be traced back to the wider connections of Melanchthon.

The case of the school regulations of Breslau, written by Petrus Vincentius and published in 1570, was similar.<sup>61</sup> Here the teaching of mathematics was

58 *Schul Ordnung Wie es mit der Lehre und Disciplin in den particular Schuolen des Fürstenthumbs Württemberg gehalten werden solle* (Tübingen: Morhart, 1559).

59 Hermann Ehmer, "Johannes Brenz," in *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton: Blackwell, 2003), 127. For overview of Brenz' life and work, see Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Brenz, Johannes," in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 1 (Nordhausen: Bautz, 1990), 743–44, accessed 2 May 2016, [http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FBr%2Fbrenz\\_j.art](http://www.bbkl.de/lexikon/bbkl-artikel.php?art=.%2FBr%2Fbrenz_j.art).

60 Gerhard Arnhardt, "Das Curriculum für Eisleben (1525)—Auftakt für die Konstituierung des protestantischen Gelehrtenschulwesens," in Schlenker, *Philipp Melanchthon und das städtische Schulwesen*, 104–105.

61 Petrus Vincentius, *Der Stadt Breslaw Schul Ordnung: Auff Eines Erbaren Raths befehl und anordnung gestellet* (Breslau: Scharffenberg, 1570). Earlier regulations in Breslau, see Hans Jessen and Walter Schwarz, eds., *Schlesische Kirchen- und Schulordnungen von der Rformation bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, Quellen zur Schlesischen Kirchengeschichte 1 (Görlitz: Verlag für Sippenforschung und Wappenkunde Starke, 1938), 18–25: "Schul- und Kirchenordnung

essential and marked a clear difference from Zürich, where it was not even part of the curriculum. Vincentius wrote: "It is not only important to know about Arithmetic or the art of calculating for the purpose and dealing of merchandise, etc., but also to calculate the years of the world and different times of divine prophecies and other histories."<sup>62</sup>

We have seen that the people of the church of Zürich produced their rules in two different formats: the regulations as documents similar to town documents, available only through direct oral transmission for a few people attached to the institution and the printed book, in principle accessible to all, which did not enumerate regulations but outlined overall organizing schemes. So far, the only collections available that make possible a comparison of Zürich with other school systems, such as those of Emil Sehling and the *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, draw solely on printed sources. These are far more detailed than anything that was published about the school in Zürich. The printed material in Zürich was confined to a discussion of church organization by Lavater and to the Daniel expositions by Heinrich Bullinger, published in 1565, which used the life of the young Daniel to preach a parable about the good school.<sup>63</sup>

If we delve deeper into the municipal statutes of the Holy Roman Empire, a broad structure appears. In the case of Eisleben, Johannes Agricola and Hermannus Tulichius suggested in 1525 that the town's entire municipal school system be organized to form corresponding parts to advance the students in their learning.<sup>64</sup> The different schools were to be arranged in a graded system.

A look at the schools and the writings that are close to Philip Melanchthon shows how the graded systems developed and their effect on student careers. In all of his writings on schooling starting with "Unterricht der Visitatoren" (1528), Melanchthon translated the Latin term "classis" into the German "Haufen," or "group." He created three "Haufen" of students, dividing them into beginner,

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des Rathes der Stadt Breslau" (1528), transcribed after Schoenborn, in *Gymnasial-Progr. Breslau* 1860, 5–13, cf. Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. 3 Die Mark Brandenburg* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1909), 396.

62 Vincentius, *Der Stadt Breslaw Schul Ordnung* (1570), f. 4r:

Arithmetica oder die Rechenkunst / muß man nicht allein in Kauffmanschafft / handel und wandel / etc. sondern auch dazu haben / das man die Jar der Welt / und unterschiedliche zeitten Gotlicher offenbarungen und anderer Historien / rechnen können.

63 Cf. Goeing [Göing], "Schulausbildung im Kontext der Bibel."

64 Johannes Agricola and Hermannus Tulichius, "Lehrplan für die Schule der Stadt Eisleben (1525)," in Hartfelder, *Melanchthoniana Paedagogica*.

advanced beginner, and advanced grades.<sup>65</sup> His division into three such groups was very vague and flexible; he let students stay as long in one group as they needed to achieve a certain level of knowledge. The time varied from case to case; Melanchthon did not create a year-limit for each of his “Haufen.” His notion of school therefore was different from that of Johannes Sturm in Strasbourg, whose system was more stratified and rigid. Sturm required his nine classes to move and change annually.

Similarly, Melanchthon’s term of *Haufen* was not used in Zurich: five “Klassen,” or grades, formed the structure.<sup>66</sup> However, the entire public education system in Zurich had a connected tripartite structure. Students advanced through the German school and one of the two Latin schools based on their skills and knowledge until they finally reached the lectorium, if they were selected. There is no particular reference to Melanchthon’s “Haufen.”

However, Hermann-Adolf Stempel maintained that Melanchthon’s groups were a general description of all of the pre-university forms of schools to be found in a town, so that Melanchthon’s model of three grades could apply not just within a single school but to a range of complete school systems.<sup>67</sup> In Zurich, they would have been the German schools, the Latin schools, and finally, the lectorium. The Zurich system might therefore be seen as a reflection of Melanchthon’s tripartite educational system and thus still be comparable, however, in a very general way.

In his Daniel expositions published in 1565, but started as early as 1544, Bullinger stated that the ideal school for Daniel would separate the students into those who were beginners, the lesser advanced and the further advanced, a tripartite system that was exactly used by Melanchthon to justify his “Haufen.” We know that Bullinger wrote about schools in the light of the school at Zurich, and that he was drawing on old lecture notes he made of the lectures delivered in the 1530s by Theodor Bibliander, who closely examined Melanchthon’s dialectic. It is therefore possible that Bullinger recalled Melanchthon’s *Haufen*, but only in a nonspecific and broad form.<sup>68</sup>

In Melanchthon’s proposal, the size of the school depended on finances and available resources. Three classes would be the minimum size, more classes

65 Stempel, *Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken*, 72–76, 100–106, 173; cf. also Carl Schmidt, *Philipp Melanchthon: Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld: Friderichs, 1861), 694. The “Unterricht der Visitatoren” of 1528 is sometimes ascribed to Martin Luther but is quite similar to the later writings of Melanchthon.

66 Cf. Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 113–14.

67 Stempel, *Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken*, 72–76, 100–106, 173.

68 See also Goeing [Göing], “Schulausbildung im Kontext der Bibel.”

were possible. The number of teaching staff reflected the size of the schools and had a great influence on the breadth of the teaching. Missing subjects meant that there was no (financial) possibility of establishing them in the curriculum.<sup>69</sup>

In contrast to Melanchthon's plan, the rationale behind the curriculum in Zürich seems to have been intended to expand learning possibilities for the students. Despite its comparable small size, students were sent away with scholarships to study elsewhere, if necessary. While mathematics was, for example, a core subject in Melanchthon's plans, it was not part of the Zürich curriculum itself. Nonetheless, a small number of gifted students in Zürich were given a stipendium to study mathematics and astronomy elsewhere, for example in Basel. In his *Quaestiones novae* Christian Wurstisen, a well-known mathematics professor of the University of Basel from 1564, told his readers that he dedicated his work to the "clarissimis viris Scholae Tigurinae," the illustrious scholars of the Zürich school, in part because they invariably treated him with honour and also because they were sending their students to study the *artes liberales* at the University of Basel.<sup>70</sup> This indicates that he taught mathematics to some of the Zürich students who came to the University of Basel with a

69 Stempel, *Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken*, 109.

70 Christian Wurstisen: *Quaestiones nouae, in theoricis nouas Planetarum, doctissimi Mathematici Georgii Purbachii Germani, quae Astronomiae sacris initiatis proxi Commentarij uicem explere possint, una cum elegantibus figuris & Isagogica praefatione. Authore Christiano Vurstisio*,... (Basileae: Henricpetrina, 1568).

A. Bernoulli, "Wurstisen," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. Auf Veranlassung Seiner Majestät des Königs von Bayern hrsg. durch die historische Commisison bei der kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), vol. 44 (1898), 346–47. Bernoulli refers to Achilles Burckhardt, "Christian Wurstisen. Vortrag gehalten beim fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, den 16. September 1886," in *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, new series, vol. 2 (Basel: Schneider, 1888), 357–98.

Wurstisen, *Quaestiones nouae*, epistola dedicatoria p. [VII]v–[VIII]r:

"Vobis autem, Viri clariss. at // que Doctiss. hosce qualescumque labo // res meos dedicare, et uestri nominis // auspicio in lucem, per dire volui, partim // que me à vobis amari sciam, qui semel // atque iterum indignum me honorificè // <VIII> tractatis, nec uulgaria uestrae erga // me benvolentiae indicia exhibuistis quo // nomine dudum grati animi indicium fa // cere debui: partim que liberalium ar= // tium studia uobis cordi esse sciam, // utpote que plurimos magnae expecta // tionis adolescentes, ad bonas artes // capescendas & in Academia nostra, // & in alijs, honestis stipendijs alitis. // Quorum studia si promovere queo, // quantum in me erit, perlibenter fa= // ciam. Nihil ergo superest, quam ut // tenuia illa quae offero, aequi bonique // consulere, & me uobis commenda= // tum habere uelitis."

stipend to study. The matriculation lists of the University of Basel also show that between 1563 and 1568 twenty-five students were originally from Zurich, most of them—as the Zurich *Acta Scholastica* demonstrate—with a stipend from the Grossmünster Stift.<sup>71</sup> By sending their students away to other institutes, the administrators of the Zurich school system by-passed the limitations of a small staff in a rather creative way.

There are some other differences that are idiosyncratic to individual reformers. Melanchthon, for example, did not exclude less able boys who wished to study and become students, and he did not distinguish between gifted and less gifted individuals. In his discussions and writings, he embraced all who wished to study. Alms were to be given to support poor and talented students but not as a reward solely for excellent work. However, the idea of diligence as the main criterion for quality was present and repeated constantly in Melanchthon's work.

A comparison of the respective curricula shows that dialectics played a more important role in the upper grades of Melanchthon's schools than in Zurich and that the students in the upper grades studied much more selectively than in Zurich, as was customary at a university. The ideas of alternating the subjects and of studying the Old and New Testaments each day were similar to both institutions. Melanchthon wanted this to be done in self-study while Bullinger hired professors to teach Bible studies and read the Old and New Testaments with students. Based on Melanchthon's statements, we can see that students in Wittenberg were freer in the choice of their studies and the formulation of their thoughts on reading while in Zurich the lecturing style of instruction predominated. This difference will be explained in greater detail in the discussion of textbooks in Part 4.

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According to the interpretation of Anton Schindling, the second biggest influence on the German school system as a whole, but particularly on the free imperial cities, was the school in Strasbourg, created and headed by Johannes Sturm. Heinrich Bullinger and the community of professors in Zurich held Johannes Sturm and Philip Melanchthon in comparable esteem. This is apparent

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71 See *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, ed. Hans Georg Wackernagel, vol. II, 1532/33–1600/01 (Basel, 1956), 145–74; compare Zurich *Acta Scholastica*, StAZ, E II 458.

A general overview on the stipendia as part of the schooling system: Maag, "Financing Education, the Zurich Approach, 1550–1620." See also for all matters concerning the Schola Tigurina: Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*.

in the letters that Bullinger wrote to both and is also shown by the fact that both Melanchthon and Sturm were entrusted with students from Zürich. The school regulations of Wittenberg refer mainly to an institution that is separated into two parts, the university on the one hand, and the preparatory Latin schools on the other.

In contrast to this, Johannes Sturm had, from the start, set his sights on a gymnasium that embraced a primary Latin education and a rudimentary secondary education in jurisprudence, medicine, and theology. Sturm composed the regulations for the *gymnasia* of Strasbourg (1538) and Lauingen.<sup>72</sup> He also applied a large part of the Strasbourg regulations to his teachings in Strasbourg.<sup>73</sup>

Strasbourg's "Gymnasium illustre" is frequently mentioned in the secondary literature as directly related to the Zürich school but no detailed comparisons have been made.<sup>74</sup> Michael Baumann alludes in his article, "Petrus Martyr Vermigli. Doctor, Lehrer der heiligen Schrift und Zürcher. Hinweise zu Vermiglis Tätigkeit in Zürich" (2002), to connections between the Zürich Lectorium publicum and Sturm's Gymnasium in Strasbourg, and he draws parallels to Melanchthon's statutes for the University of Wittenberg.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, he clearly explains how the idea of a connection between academic practice and the training to become a minister in the canton was peculiar to students at Zürich. He stresses that the title of the students, "verbi divini minister," would only be granted by the Zürich church to those who stepped up from the school to an office as minister; the school itself did not give any title to its graduates.

However, further investigations show other differences. The major difference between the Zürich and Strasbourg schools was that Sturm introduced rhetoric and dialectic as the highest classes of the Latin school while these subjects only became part of the curriculum in the lectorium in Zürich. Nonetheless, mathematics, medicine, and jurisprudence were part of Sturm's curriculum but were not taught in Zürich. There were differences between Melanchthon's and Sturm's plans as well. Although Melanchthon shared with Sturm the idea

72 Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt, Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538–1621*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 77 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 42–43 (Lauingen), 30–32 (Strasbourg).

73 Johannes Sturm, *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber* (Strasbourg: Rihel, 1538), stands in direct connection to his practice and politics, cf. Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*, 30–32.

74 Michael Baumann, "Petrus Martyr Vermigli. Doctor, Lehrer der heiligen Schrift und Zürcher. Hinweise zu Vermiglis Tätigkeit in Zürich," in Campi, *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, 214.

75 Michael Baumann, "Petrus Martyr Vermigli."

of oratory as a goal of study, Sturm pursued this aim much more rigorously. In doing so, he marginalized the subject of theology, which played a central role in Melanchthon's curriculum.<sup>76</sup> Math lessons became part of Strasbourg's curriculum although Sturm did not refer to them in his ideal regulations of 1538. Two hours a week were dedicated to Mathematics, and in 1567, the first textbook for mathematics was used in Strasbourg.<sup>77</sup>

Between 1537 and 1560, the Zurich administrative director played a similar role to that of his counterpart in Strasbourg. Hans-Jacob Ammann supervised both the Latin school and the upper level of higher education and was himself, like Johannes Sturm, a professor of rhetoric. Unlike Sturm, Ammann never recorded any conflict with authorities or professors over school issues. He also did not leave many publications, letters, or manuscripts to document his doings. His relations with the school administration remain obscure.

In Strasbourg, the rector usually had more authority to act by himself than the Zurich rector, who worked together with the town council, the professors, and the ministers of the church. Only from 1560 to after Ammann's tenure did the minutes from 1560 show the Zurich administrative director as the *primus inter pares* who controlled the administrative process.

The regulations for the institutes of higher education in Altdorf (Nuremberg) and Herborn in the Holy Roman Empire had quite similar features to the regulations for the lectorium in Zurich and also had a big influence on the policy of the reformed regions.<sup>78</sup> Herborn was founded in 1584 and the academy of Altdorf received its regulations in 1575. The Zurich regulations preceded them, and therefore could not have been influenced by them. But could Zurich have had an impact on them?

76 Stempel, *Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken, passim*, describes Melanchthon's work as a connection between pedagogical and religious goals that never questions Christian instruction as the main aim of public education.

77 Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*, 206–207.

78 *Introductio Novae Scholae Aldorfianae Noribergensium, exposita aliquot doctorum virorum orationibus. Quibus accesseerunt quaedam prolegomena praeceptorum classicorum et Typus Classium, item Oratio funebris de Obitu D. Rectoris...* (Nuremberg: Gerlach & Vom Berg, 1576) and is printed in Latin and German. The German part is reprinted in Reinhold Vormbaum, ed., *Evangelische Schulordnungen 1, Die Evangelischen Schulordnungen des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1860), 606–30.

Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit (1584–1660)*, 145–49.



## Borrowed *Decora* and Full-Fledged Systematic Structures

As we have seen, the Zurich school regulations of 1559 combined a number of different traditions. First, it is clear that the church was responsible for the school regulations and for presenting them at the town council meeting; otherwise Heinrich Bullinger would not have had the mandate to introduce the regulations to that body. He submitted the new regulations the same way as he had done in the past with the pledges that the church brought to the town council. The town mayor and both councils approved the new regulations.

This shows secondly that the school was not only an affair of the church but also of the town although the town council had a more passive role in its establishment. Although the council did not require to be consulted and the consultation was voluntary, the school regulations extended the affairs of the church into the town's responsibilities. In addition, the town memorial book proposed that a few scholarships be given by the town and not by the Grossmünster Stift.

Third, the school regulations can be seen as part of the administration of the Grossmünster Stift based on a marginal note on the manuscript that the original regulations were to be kept there. The administrator of the Grossmünster Stift was in charge of administrating the affairs of the school and maintaining the documents. However, only once in the whole time of the administration of the lectorium, in 1560, the first year with the new school regulations, was the administrator of the Stift also the administrative director of the school. In all other cases, up to 1804, these offices were separated, and the administrator of the Stift was not in charge of the contents and regulations of the school.

The peculiar structure of the regulations suggests that they were shaped by the internal tradition of the Stift rather than by external influences. The school regulations as of 1532, which Bullinger might have composed in his capacity as administrative director of the school, was combined with another piece of writing belonging to the documents of the Stift. This was an inventory of the Stift, organizing the office of the canons, among them the professors, who were there to teach.

In comparison with the regulations of 1532, those of 1559 were more elaborate and more coherent. They planned a higher number of class sequences for the Latin schools, specified more of the teaching materials, and emphasized the yearly exams of the students. Exam regulations were incorporated

within the school rules. The exams and the system of graduation of 1559 laid down a pathway from the German schools via the Latin schools to the lectorium. The German schools were not touched by the school regulations but were mentioned by them as a prerequisite for further studies. By connecting the individual schools, the school regulations of 1559 achieved a consistency that could not be observed in 1532. This reform was explained as a response to the bad conditions of the school although these were not explained in detail. It may also have been an attempt to rival the establishment of the Genevan Academy with its new school regulations. More parochially, it may have been a response to the reorganization of the German schools in Zurich between 1549 and 1556.

The documents do not reveal the degree of dependency that the new organization of the school system had on those regulations that were imposed on the Catholic parts of the Holy Roman Empire and the confederation of Switzerland by the decisions of the Tridentine council as of 1545. One of their first decisions was an instruction on how Catholics should read the Bible. The first meeting of the council in December 1545 intensely discussed and regulated the teaching of biblical content. To what extent the Zurich emphasis on biblical teaching was a response to this Catholic injunction is not clear.

As Fritz Büsser has repeatedly emphasized, the new Zurich secondary school, with its trilingual emphasis on Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, together with high level studies of the Bible, mirrored Zwingli's thinking and had parallels and roots in the work of Erasmus, especially in his thoughts about the Leuven Collegium Trilingue. The period between 1532 and 1559 probably saw discussion among the other reformers—Melanchthon, Sturm, and Calvin—but no letter exchanges between the reformers discussing the school system or education in school at Zurich at length have yet been discovered. Letters on other topics, however, were exchanged regularly.

My analysis emphasizes the school regulation in its material form. Its important feature was that of a scribal publication. Its form as a manuscript in German and not a Latin print made it compatible with the range of documents used by the Zurich town council. The explicit use of the German language continues the tradition for town council documents after the Reformation to generally be written in German and not in Latin. The idea that the school regulations should be read aloud once a year at the beginning of every new school class period in front of the officers and students of the school was also in the tradition of late medieval council *regulatoria*.

The Zurich regulations were different in form from those in other places, where printed representations represented an idealized humanist school. The Genevan regulation, for example, was written in Latin and was published for

the opening of the academy in June 1559. The Württemberg church regulations were also printed in the same year and included school regulations, which were applied to many different parishes in the region of Württemberg. The regulations were to be distributed as swiftly and accurately as possible to the most remote parts of the land and to be adapted to the needs and circumstances of individual parishes.

A comparison of details of the organization and regulatory regime of a very large and complex institution, such as the University of Heidelberg, reveals similar practices to Zurich. As early as the end of the fourteenth century, the regulations were read aloud in front of the students and then sworn in. The character of documentation of the Zurich school therefore related to institutional organizations of the high and late middle ages, such as the University of Heidelberg, but the range of content clearly differed.

Specific to Zurich was the choice of scholarship holders and the process of sending them to a foreign university so that they were able to improve their knowledge. This practice was encouraged although students were told not to take foreign exams if these required signing the Augsburg confessional treatise. This procedure was not new in 1559; Zwingli had already successfully introduced the first scholarships for students. Conrad Gessner was one of the earliest recipients.

The emphasis on rhetoric as a school subject and the choice of the only rhetoric professor present in Zurich as the academic director in charge of the lectorium from 1537 to 1560, Hans-Jacob Ammann, were signs that the institution was very close to Strasbourg and Johannes Sturm, who himself was director of the school and simultaneously rhetoric professor. Both institutions developed at the same time; the emphasis on rhetoric in 1537 at Zurich could show interdependence, but it could also have developed independently of Strasbourg by connecting to the grounding and ground-breaking works of Erasmus that were present in Zurich as textbooks into the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

By constantly recording achievements in the school minutes, the institution in Zurich shaped and advanced student careers; the exams were tailored to the groups of students as they rose through the different levels of the schools.

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1 Christine Christ-von Wedel and Urs B. Leu (eds.) have collected a variety of very different ways in which the writings of Erasmus were present in Zurich long after his death: *Erasmus in Zürich. Eine verschwiegene Autorität* (Zurich: Verlag NZZ, 2007). The contents of textbooks were adapting to this awareness of connecting to the Republic of Letters, notwithstanding the fact that the teachers often created their own textbooks. This will be treated in Part 4. The choice of materials reveals the exchange with other institutions and teachers.

This idea of a dynamic based on conceptions of justice, certain standards for learning, and an assessment of the candidate, his talents, and his individual usefulness was central to the system. These basic concepts were not clarified in the school regulation, in fact, they were more or less hidden or tacit. How these phases of institutional dynamic were built and used will be explained in the following chapter.

**PART 3**

***Standards of School Administration: Keeping  
Minutes 1560–1580***





## The Use of Minutes in Zurich's Institutions: School Governance

Saucy pedantic wretch, go chide  
Late school boys and sour 'prentices

JOHN DONNE, *The Sun-Rising*<sup>1</sup>

Part 3 examines the school minutes of the Schola Tigurina, providing an overview of the written records of the Schola Tigurina between 1560 and 1580.<sup>2</sup> It is organized into five sections. After an introduction, the second section addresses the content and significance of the documents, and the third provides a detailed analysis of the educational and administrative achievements revealed in the Zurich minutes. Taking a closer look at the explicit references in the minutes to school regulations and the establishment of new regulations as documented in the protocols, the fourth section reveals the minutes' most important features as an instrument of administration. Finally, this part ends with a summary treating the procedures and concepts of institutional justice for educating youth in Zurich. While the website <http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/scholim1559> contains a complete transcription of the school minutes 1560 to 1582, the Appendices 6 to 10 in this book include the transcription of the school minutes of the first six years, from 1560 to 1566. Appendix 11 contains for quick reference two transcriptions from the school minutes pertaining to the directorship of Johann Jacob Friess, his organization of administrative penalties (1578), and an index (1580).

A primary focus is the question of how the medium of transmission affected the meaning of the text. In the humanities we often deal with the problem that the medium of transmission is not seen as bearing a set of information for itself. The cartographer Christoph Jacob calls it for example the "transparent map."<sup>3</sup> In his view, maps in history have usually only been seen as bearers of accurate or false information about geography. He states that this attitude toward the sources rendered their interpretation incomprehensible since the

1 John Donne, *The Poetical Works of Dr. John Donne. With a memoir [abridged from Izaak Walton's life of Donne]*, ed. James Russell Lowell. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855), 255.

2 This chapter builds on my article, "Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563."

3 Christian Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1996): 191–98, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1151273>.

maps in and of themselves give information about their background, the people who commissioned artists to create them, and their own production. He would therefore call the new method of looking at maps “opaque cartography.”

Similarly, the sources for the Schola Tigurina have a value in their *form* as documents. The school regulations that we examined in Part 2 were scribal publications, such as the documents of the town council. The school minutes or records in this chapter provide information about the background of their writing, function, keeping, and also their effect on the organization of education. This series of documents, accumulated over the years, were written by successive heads of the school. Though their individual priorities sometimes varied, cumulatively they developed a language and set of values that defined the aims and practices of the school.

The chronological order in which the documents were filed renders the dates of the regular entries the most important dividers of paragraphs in these documents. The *Acta Scholastica*, or scholastic documents, reveals that one date at Easter always had the same function, when students were required to take exams. Until 1566, Easter was the only fixed date in the school calendar and therefore of extraordinary importance. In 1566, the new regulations of the Fraumünster School were introduced and they added St. John's Day, the 24th of June, as a new examination date. However, the *Acta* reveals that the date of St. John's Day was soon forgotten: Johann Jacob Friess, the head of the school administration in 1578, had a difficult time rediscovering its function. The idea behind the Easter date will be explained in detail in my first analysis.

In my second analysis, I will provide information about the staff mentioned in the text. Why are certain staff members mentioned and not others? Can we say that this organization worked as an employer? After all, not everybody was mentioned in the minutes, including the students. In most cases, the people who were mentioned, were somehow connected to the Grossmünster Stift—that is they received scholarship money or were affiliated with the foundation in some other way.

The third and main analysis addresses the educational significance of the minutes since it is assumed that the minutes provide insight into the curriculum. It is also assumed that they shed light on the criteria used to deal with and assess the students, mostly in terms of rewards and reprimands, but also in terms of how students' career paths were guided.

After having examined the content of the school minutes, the investigation moves directly to the interconnection between educational practice and a set framework of rules and regulations and to the role that the school minutes played as documents in these developments. How did the documents connect single episodes to the regulations, and was there a distinguishable way of



dealing with rules in practice? Were processes made visible that in the end led to the creation of new rules and what form did they take?

The conclusion examines the links between the educational sphere and the overlapping sphere of the town in a comparative perspective, using Josias Simmler's book *De Republica Helvetiorum* (1576).

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It has already been mentioned that the discussion of the text's format has certain advantages. If one assumes that similar interactions, such as record-keeping, handshaking, or punishment, performed by different social actors, produced slightly or vastly different values and meanings, as has been argued, for example, by Gadi Algazi in his book on the social meaning of giving and taking (*Negotiating the Gift: Premodern Figurations of Exchange*), then the most effective means of recovering these values and meanings is to treat these interactions individually within their own context.<sup>4</sup> This is possible in the case of the Zurich Lectorium thanks to the existence of a type of regularly kept official diary—the school minutes—which documented the most important actions and decisions of a group of administrators of the Zurich school. The density with which daily school life was documented is unique in Europe since the minutes of the next level of comparable schools, the universities, recorded actions that reflected different priorities. These institutes had to deal with administrative issues and university jurisdiction, which concerned the university as a body of independent rules and financial matters. To judge by the only available published critical edition, the minutes of Heidelberg, the manner of grading the students was not usually documented in the university minutes, and disciplinary matters were only addressed if they needed to be justified because of objections uttered by the town people or the town government.

The information contained in the Zurich minutes concerned daily organizational issues for the students, such as exams, scholarships, and codes of conduct. The separation of these documents from other written sources has one great advantage—it enables us to find out how the school administration reacted to the school regulations. However, it does not give an account of other, more personal interactions among the people involved with the school. Heinrich Bullinger and other teachers gave students a place to sleep and meals with their families during the students' stay in Zurich. It can be assumed that

4 Compare, for example, Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Premodern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), introduction.

the level of talk and affection went beyond a merely academic exchange of knowledge. This was not documented, however, in the minutes.

By choosing a homogenous source for analysis, I am taking a textual approach to this historical research, one that looks at text sources and organizes them according to their specific type and function. The inclusion of interconnected sources and their comparison with the sources of other institutions within a set time frame produces results with a maximum degree of accuracy. In early modern academic education, the following three groups of sources—which include statements and conceptions of life as well as biographical and autobiographical details of the students' and professors' lives—are of greatest interest and at the centre of my research.<sup>5</sup> In particular, the minutes reveal the institution's daily practices—its benchmarks and framework for teaching, and the textbook as the agent for conveying knowledge and social behaviour.<sup>6</sup> Finally, they reveal theoretical prescripts and reflective considerations on

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5 For the students see Ann Blair, "Learning in the Life of a French Nobleman: Nicolas de Livre, Friend of Jean Bodin," in *Historians and Ideologues. Essays in Honor of Donald R. Kelley*, ed. Anthony Grafton and John H.M. Salmon (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 3–39; Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload," 11–28; Rainer A. Müller, "Studentenkultur und akademischer Alltag," in *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, Bd. 2: Von der Reformation zur französischen Revolution: 1500–1800*, ed. Walter Rüegg (Munich: Beck, 1996), 263–86; Rainer Christoph Schwinges, "Student Education, Student Life," in *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195–243.

For the professors' lives see Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols., Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; 1993); Helmut Zedelmaier and Martin Mulsow, eds, *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001).

6 Cf. Matthias Asche, *Von der reichen hansischen Bürgeruniversität zur armen mecklenburgischen Landeshochschule. Das regionale und soziale Besucherprofil der Universitäten Rostock und Bützow in der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1800)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000); Wolfgang Mährle, "Wissenschaft nach Straßburger, Wittenberger oder Paduaner Art. Die Entwicklung des Lehrangebots an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule (1575–1623)," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 120 (2000), 80–96; Wolfgang Mährle, *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)*, *Contubernium* 54 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000); Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*.

For textbooks conveying knowledge and social behaviour see Blair, *Too Much to Know*; Jonathan Topham, "A Textbook Revolution," *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 317–37.

education and learning. Some of these were of an abstract nature and others were carried out by the participants themselves, both students and professors.<sup>7</sup>

The school minutes of the Zurich Lectorium provide researchers with a foundation for answering the important question of whether educational terminology was enhanced or its language changed over time and whether educational concepts were increasingly defined over this period.<sup>8</sup>

Operations and causal sequences of decisions in the academic context were documented in both the Protestant and Catholic regions of Europe in chronological order every year.<sup>9</sup> An approach that views the minutes as independent instruments for constructing educational and political concepts goes far beyond much of the secondary literature, in which minutes are for the most part considered only in a fragmentary way in an effort to reconstruct long-term processes at schools. One example of historical research focused on minutes is the work of Heinz Schilling, who edited the church minutes of the reformed congregation of Emden from the year 1557 to 1620.<sup>10</sup> In publishing the Emden church council minutes, he showed how the source material evolved and created a foundation for many further studies on the Reformation in Emden by making them much more accessible. His own analyses have a conceptual significance, and his focus centres on the socio-historical interdependencies of people, church, and state and how they are revealed by researching these kinds of documents.<sup>11</sup>

7 For theoretical conceptions in general see Dietrich Benner and Jürgen Oelkers, eds., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Pädagogik* (Weinheim, Basel: Beltz; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004). A specific example for participants reflecting on their study programme is Heinrich Bullinger, *Studiorum ratio—Studienanleitung*, ed. Peter Stotz, Heinrich Bullinger, Werke, Sonderband, 2 vols (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1987).

8 See also the approach of Arno Strohmeyer, *Konfessionskonflikt und Herrschaftsordnung: Das Widerstandsrecht bei den Österreichischen Ständen (1550–1650)* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 434–38. Strohmeyer carried out extensive research on official governmental policy on contracts and covenants with a focus on the speech of resistance. He concludes his study with the following three findings: concepts of resistance included more content than before; speech was therefore enhanced and the words changed significance; and the concepts became much more sophisticated.

9 Wolfgang Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 146–83 (“Die Verwaltung der Hohen Schule in Altdorf von 1582–1623”), Joseph Studhalter, *Die Jesuiten in Luzern 1574–1652. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der tridentinischen Reform*, *Der Geschichtsfreund*, Beiheft 14 (Stans: Komm. Josef von Matt, 1973), 132–33, notes 557, 568.

10 Reformierte Gemeinde (Emden), and Heinz Schilling, *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden 1557–1620*, parts 1 and 2, ed. Heinz Schilling (Köln, 1989).

11 Heinz Schilling, “Einleitung,” in Reformierte Gemeinde (Emden), and Heinz Schilling, *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden 1557–1620*, Part 1, IX–X.

In the case of Geneva, Karin Maag argues that the Genevan minutes show the evolution of concepts.<sup>12</sup> In her account, directives for the *schola publica* differ in the municipal and church council minutes. Her research then takes a different approach, however, as she uses the frequency with which foreign students visiting the academy were mentioned in the documents to gain insight into the importance of the Genevan Academy within the network of reformed educational institutions. Because of her priorities, she does not discuss the details and developments within the commissions. Nevertheless, her identification of specifically Genevan characteristics demonstrates that we can legitimately assume that the way in which school problems were addressed varied from town to town. These responses were not only conditioned by space and time, and by political and religious differences, but were also formed by the responsible participants within the scope of their own biographical horizon of opinions and positions. Addressing the Academy of Altdorf, Wolfgang Mährle emphasizes the varying degree to which the school superintendents dedicated themselves to school matters and also stresses the very important “interface function of the rector between the school administration and the Academy.”<sup>13</sup> Based on the *Acta Rectoris*, he demonstrates that the rector did not follow the statutes in terms of the frequency of meetings. Even this historical incident—which in itself has very little significance—shows the effects upon the character and profile of the academy: the rector’s leeway in performing tasks such as dispensing the law broadened just when the school superintendents’ interest declined.<sup>14</sup> The similarities and differences in the comportment and opinions of the individual people on the school council were responsible for the institution’s direction because these people, who were in charge, negotiated contracts and agreements.

There are methodological reasons for focusing on a particular source. In the case of another type of source material, the matriculation lists, Matthias Asche has demonstrated how precise and consistent the results of such focused research can be.<sup>15</sup> In contrast to an approach that attempts to capture the life hidden beyond the documents, he treats the medium as being of prime

12 Maag, *Seminary or University? Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education*, 3.

13 Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 175, 178.

14 Ibid., 179: “Schnittstellenfunktion des Rektors zwischen Schulverwaltung und Hoher Schule.”

15 Asche, *Von der reichen hansischen Bürgeruniversität*. For other prosopographic studies, compare especially Beat Immenhäuser, *Bildungswege-Lebenswege. Universitätsbesucher aus dem Bistum Konstanz im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Schwabe, 2007) and Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Studenten und Gelehrte: Studien zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte deutscher Universitäten im Mittelalter* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008).

importance, drawing on the methods of intellectual history and history of the book. By viewing the diverse aspects and arranged order of the source series, researchers, such as Asche, gather information and access to traditions of sources and genres, which filter the content of the writing. As has already been stated in earlier projects, there are, in general, a variety of approaches to working on educational history on the basis of genres and research questions.<sup>16</sup> In concrete terms, this approach examines the characteristics of the source material and the limits of their communicative potential.

One approach to textbook studies, limited to this genre of writings, has been undertaken by Jonathan Topham.<sup>17</sup> In his study of the pedagogy of mathematics at Cambridge in the nineteenth century, he documents the close connection between the commercialization of textbooks by publishing houses and the scholarly direction of the University of Cambridge. Taking a different approach, Charles B. Schmitt traces the strong traditions established in the sixteenth century with respect to the content and form of Renaissance philosophical textbooks.<sup>18</sup> In such cases, the scope of the sources is especially important: Who was included in this documentation? Who did the documenting? What were the conditions for documentation? And what kind of content was recorded? An examination of these questions reveals how content was fashioned to fit into a specific format and uncovers the mechanisms of selection.

In contrast to Strasbourg or Herborn, and also to Lucerne and Geneva, the Zurich Grossmünster Stift, which had the legal form of a foundation, was self-governed. A council of professors in this organization was put in charge of school affairs and was supervised by the school superintendents.<sup>19</sup> The minutes of the meetings, which were written by the elected administrative director, documented the many different functions performed by the council in Zurich. Under the supervision of the school superintendent, the council was required not only to monitor general decisions pertaining to the development of the curriculum but also to determine how the professors were to carry out their assignments, how assistants were to help, and how rewards and penalties were to be meted out.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, the council of professors served as a channel of communication, helping teachers communicate with each other,

16 Goeing [Göing], "Protestantische Arbeitsethik, Rationalisierung des Bildungssystems im 16. Jahrhundert;" Goeing [Göing], "Die Ausbildung reformierter Prediger in Zürich."

17 Topham, "A Textbook Revolution."

18 Charles B. Schmitt, "The Rise of the Philosophical Textbook," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. in Charles B. Schmitt u.a. (Cambridge, 1988), 792–804.

19 Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*.

20 Cf. Goeing [Göing], "Protestantische Arbeitsethik."

the elected administrative director, parents, problematic students, and sometimes foreign institutes of learning, such as the universities of Basel and Wittenberg.<sup>21</sup> But one of the most important functions of the council remained communication concerning the students' exam results and financial support. The business of sending students to study at foreign universities was one of the most frequent worries expressed in the minutes. Along with Basel and Berne, the universities with the largest number of Zurich students between 1560 and 1580 were Marburg and Heidelberg. All four were well-established reformed institutions with colleagues who were personally known to the Zurich faculty.<sup>22</sup>

Initial studies of the Zurich minutes have been undertaken by Maag, who has selectively examined the topic of scholarships for foreign universities.<sup>23</sup> However, there has been no inventory or review of the catalogue of criteria for examinations or other administrative procedures. Furthermore, we lack research that connects the school minutes with the Grossmünster minutes on church policy, and there are no comparisons of the minutes taken by the town council. These comparisons are necessary to investigate possible interchanges and to evaluate school policy in relation to church matters.

However, both focuses of comparative research, on the church and the town council, have been addressed in Hans-Ulrich Bächtold's dissertation about Heinrich Bullinger in the period from 1532 to 1575.<sup>24</sup> Bächtold examined the so-called *Fürträge*—the petitions that Heinrich Bullinger addressed to the “small council” of Zurich. Bullinger had the greatest influence on official educational policy of the town council in Zurich. One of Bächtold's findings was that not all of Bullinger's petitions were put into practice.<sup>25</sup>

The question of institutional planning of educational development and educational aims has so far not been treated in any comparative study focusing on different confessional institutes in Switzerland and abroad, though work on nearby Lucerne, in particular, could provide the basis for a fuller comparison. Joseph Studhalter has written in detail about the Jesuit school in Lucerne.<sup>26</sup> But in his research about school matters, the form of the documents dealing with the college's history play only a subordinate role—the contents are much more important. The reference to the Lucerne documents is not only mixed with but outnumbered by other references that refer to the

21 Cf. Goeing [Göing], “In die Fremde schicken,” and page 205 of this treatise.

22 Cf. Goeing [Göing], “In die Fremde schicken,” and page 205 of this treatise.

23 Maag, “Financing Education, the Zurich Approach.”

24 Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*.

25 Ibid., 198: The expansion of the prior project to the Alumnat at Rüti unfortunately failed.

26 Studhalter, *Die Jesuiten in Luzern 1574–1652*.

entire southern German speaking provinces (*Oberdeutsche Provinz*), published by G.M. Pachtler S.J. and Bernhard Duhr in *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*.<sup>27</sup> Studhalter uses these papers, which are much richer sources than those on Lucerne, as a trove of concrete information on the general practices of enforcing the Jesuit rules.<sup>28</sup> Studhalter has made a remarkable finding: not only were the rules in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* obeyed and applied to the Lucerne context, but the Lucerne Jesuits created their own very concrete subordinate regulation system for their Lucerne mission and the college.<sup>29</sup>

Researching the reformed schools in her recent book *Seminary or University?*, Maag compares the academies of Zurich and Geneva, describing visitor frequency and student exchanges.<sup>30</sup> Her view of the *schola publica* in Geneva is based on Charles Borgeaud's extensive research into the Academy of Geneva.<sup>31</sup> In addition, an examination of the matriculation lists edited by Sven Stelling and collected in the Genevan *livre du recteur* shows the great explanatory power of such lists when it comes to the enrollment of Protestant students. Stelling, for example, characterizes the enrolment of students in the matriculation list as an obligatory religious act.<sup>32</sup>

Additional comparisons of academic goals, scholarship, and student behaviour at universities in the Holy Roman Empire are necessary. Detailed analyses based on the separation of source kinds have not been done because the secondary literature has confined itself to the study of educational policy in general. For example, Gerhard Menk examines the statutes of the Academy of Herborn very thoroughly.<sup>33</sup> He uses the statutes to investigate the decisions

27 G.M. Pachtler S.J. and B.[ernhard] Duhr, eds., *Ratio studiorum et Institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes*, 4 vols., *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, 2, 5, 9 and 16 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1887–1894).

28 Ibid., 403–10: Curriculum of the Jesuit college at Lucerne, in the further discussion of school routines from pp. 410–56.

29 Joseph Studhalter, “Grundlegung und Entfaltung der Jesuitenschule zu Luzern. Führung der Jesuitenschule. Schulprogramm und Bildungsideal der Luzerner Jesuitenschule. Von den Schülern an der Luzerner Jesuitenschule,” in *400 Jahre Höhere Lehranstalt Luzern. 1574–1974*, responsible for the edition: Gottfried Boesch, Anton Kottmann, ed. for Erziehungsrat des Kantons Luzern (Luzern: Kantonsschule, 1974), 130–35.

30 Maag, *Seminary or university? Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education*; Maag, “Financing Education, the Zurich Approach.”

31 Charles Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'université de Genève. L'Académie de Calvin 1559–1798* (Genève, 1900).

32 Sven Stelling-Michaud, ed., *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, vol. 1, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 33 (Genève: Droz, 1959), 14.

33 Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit*.

and thoughts of the scholars concerning educational policy and combines them with a study of treatises and textbooks to reveal parts of the pedagogy of this academy. He does not regard the minutes as independent documents and therefore mentions the recorded decisions only in an illustrative way. Nor does he describe the related arguments that led to these decisions. In his monograph on the Gymnasium and Academy of Strasbourg, Anton Schindling describes the developments inside the institution and their theoretical foundation in Johannes Sturm's concept of rhetoric teaching.<sup>34</sup> It is not his goal to evaluate how concepts in education developed according to their different source traditions. The work that comes closest to answering these questions is the study by Wolfgang Mährle on the reformed Academy of Altdorf. Mährle has conducted research on the educational policy of the Altdorf Academy not only to document the procedures that emerged from the minutes' contents for the development of the academy but also to connect them to dependent school aims and school practices, starting in 1583.<sup>35</sup> I will now turn to an analysis of a sample of the Zurich minutes.

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34 Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*.

35 Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 146–84, 203–27.



## The School Minutes: Educational and Administrative Practices

An astonishing density of reports on schooling can be found in the *Acta Scholastica* of the Grossmünster Stift. The weekly to biweekly records, which contain the decisions taken in the meetings of the school superintendents at the Grossmünster Stift reveal close and intense class instruction and the extent to which the school regulations were considered in the everyday communication between teachers and students.

The Zurich school minutes were kept with great care beginning on 1 May 1560. They were started in parallel with the new school regulations that had been put into effect in 1559/1560. This can be deduced from the introductory section of the *Acta Scholastica*, which listed the elected administrative directors in chronological order. This roster of names and dates, most of which were added later, was followed by the first entry in the minutes and therefore marks the beginning of something new, which in this case meant that the school minutes were intended as an independent means of evaluation and documentation about the lectorium and the two Latin schools.

According to the official count, which did not include the administrative activities of Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger between 1523 and 1537, there were exactly 104 elected administrative directors between 1537 and 1804.<sup>1</sup> The first in office after Bullinger was Hans-Jacob Ammann (1537–1560), a professor of Latin, dialectic, and rhetoric.<sup>2</sup> The last was Caspar von Orelli, a professor of philosophy who served as director from 1802 to 1804.<sup>3</sup> With just a few exceptions, until 1634 all of the elected or designated professors and ministers served two years in office and were then replaced by a fellow professor or minister.<sup>4</sup> Following the long period that Hans-Jacob Ammann spent in

1 StAZ, E II 458, IIr-IVv, see Appendix 1 for a transcription of this text.

2 Hans-Jacob Ammann was the elected administrative director from 1537 to 1560: StAZ, E II 458, II.

3 Philosophy professor Caspar von Orelli was elected administrative director from 1802 to 1804: StAZ, E II 458, IVv.

4 StAZ, E II 458, II-IIIV: exceptions from 1564 to 1702: M. Rudolff Wirtt 1598–1601; Jo. Rod. Lavaterus 1619–1620; D. Jo. Jacobus Irmingerus 1622–1625; D. Iodocus à Kusen 1629–1630; Joh. Rodolphus Stuckius 1634–1660; Joh. Henricus Hottinger 1662–1667; Johannes Henricus Zellerus 1667–1670; Joh. Henricus Heideggerus 1670–1673; Johannes Jacobus Schaedlerus

office, there were three one-year administrative directorships between 1560 and 1563.<sup>5</sup> In 1564, Josias Simmler, professor of the Holy Scripture, held the first of an unbroken series of directorships to last two years.<sup>6</sup> The lengthening of tenure to two years was mentioned in the margins after his name. In this list of directors, we find an addendum in the opposite row, against the entry for Josias Simmler in 1564: "Ist der fest so uff Zwey Jahr geordnet."<sup>7</sup> In this way he has been given a fixed two-year term in office. Later, tenure changed. In 1634, logic professor Johannes Rodolphus Stuckius was elected and stayed in office for the next twenty-six years. In the years after he retired, tenure varied again between two and three years, with a few one- and five-year exceptions.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, between 1564 and 1634, the two-year period can be viewed as constitutive of the administrative period of directorship. From 1560 to 1585, fifteen elected administrative directors were in office. Of them, four served two terms in office, though not consecutively. There were thus eleven different people who took up the post of administrative director during this time. From 1560 to 1618, there were only four instances in which a former administrative director was re-elected, and in the period from 1618 to 1804, the elected administrative director served only one term of office, with just three exceptions.<sup>9</sup> Due to the consistently low number of tenure years and the small number of re-elections, one can assume that the elected administrative director of the schools did not keep the powers that were given to him after he resigned his post but handed them over to his successor.

Until 1607, there were thirteen appointees that came from the group of professors and administrators at the Stift, and the same number came from the group of ministers. Thus, a balance was maintained between the two groups. Thereafter, between 1607 and 1683, the professors gained ascendancy, numbering sixteen as compared to eight ministers. This dominance was also fostered by the fact that one of the professors, Johannes Rodolphus Stuckius, served for twenty-six years. These ratios changed only after 1683, when the balance between ministers and professors in the school government was restored. At

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1683–1686; Joh. Jacobus Gesnerus 1689–1692; D. Joh. Henricus Zellerus 1696–1699; and D. Joh. Rodolphus Ottius 1699–1702.

Until 1660, the school's administrative directors included not only professors and ministers but also the administrator of the Stift, Wolfgang Haller (1563–1564 and 1566–1568).

5 StAZ, E II 458, IIr.

6 For exceptions, see note 4.

7 StAZ, E II 458, IIr.

8 StAZ, E II 458, IIr-IVv.

9 Exceptions: Caspar Waser (1609–1611; 1617–1619), Johannes Jacobus Hottingerus (1702–1705; 1713–1717); and Johannes Konrad Wirz (1716; 1731–1739).

the end of the list, in the period from 1796 to 1804, a series of professors was installed one after the other.

It is not difficult to determine how, between 1607 and 1683, the shift in the school government in favour of the professors influenced daily practices at school. We have a number of sources at our disposal: not only the minutes themselves but also letters and a very erudite school history written by theology professor Johann Heinrich Hottinger in 1664. This work, which included many Greek quotes, eloquently attests to Hottinger's passion for ancient scholarship.<sup>10</sup> Hottinger himself wrote the school minutes between 1662 and 1667, when he served as the elected academic director of the Collegium Carolinum as they called the lectorium in the seventeenth century.

The 1560 newly elected administrative director Johannes Wolf, minister at the Fraumünster Church, the first to take up his office after issuance of the new regulations, was the author of the school minutes that start on the pages following the general list of directors.<sup>11</sup> In this first record, he wrote about the goal of the minutes, which was to record and observe the regulations of the school—i.e., the regulations of 1559/1560—and to write down all that was decided during his term of office:<sup>12</sup>

Anno 1560, am Meytag, als mine Herren Verordneten zur // lehr, in gemeyner Versammlung, der Collegien und schu<o>len allhie // inn Zürich, flißigs nachfragen gehebt, ward demnach ich Hans Wolff, // zum Schu<o>lherren erwellt, und ob allen Schu<o>lordnungen vest zu hallten, // mitt ernst ermanet,: Alles in bysin miner Gn. Herren Burger= // meyster Müllers und Seckelmeyster Sprünglins, vorgedachter miner // Herren Predicanten, Läseren etc. Darumbe der Schu<o>l // zu gutem, ich, was ye zu Ziten, inn Sachen die Schul belangend, an= // bracht, erkennt und gehandelt, inn diß Bu<o>ch ingeschriben. etc. //

(On 1 May 1560, when my Lords lecturers had diligently raised the question at the common assembly of colleges and schools here in Zurich, I Hans Wolff was elected administrative director, and I was admonished with solemnity to adhere to the school regulations: all in the presence of my lords the town mayor Müller and the treasurer Sprünglin, as well as before named lords the predicants, readers etc. Therefore, for the benefit of the school, I have written in this book what at the times has been laid out, concluded, and enacted concerning matters of the school.)

<sup>10</sup> Hottinger, *Schola Tigurinorum Carolina...Appendix 1*.

<sup>11</sup> StAZ, E II 458: *Acta Scholastica* 1560–1592, f. or.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1r.

The only school minutes kept on a regular basis in Zurich, these *Acta Scholastica*, provide a close look at the procedures within the Zurich school system. From 1560 to 1804, the school minutes were kept regularly by the administrative director. He was elected by the professors, ministers, and the administrator of the Zurich Grossmünster Stift, once a year from 1560 on and every two years from 1564 on.<sup>13</sup> In order to reach collective decisions, the director assembled the professors of the lectorium together with the former elected administrative directors, as well as the two headmasters of the Latin schools that belonged wholly or partially to the Stift (the Grossmünster) and the Fraumünster School. As a record, the minutes constitute the memory of a self-governing educational institution.

The Zurich school minutes have a different character from the rector books of the University of Heidelberg and the minutes kept by the school superintendents of the *Academia Norica* in Nuremberg-Altdorf—to name just two of the many institutions that can be compared to the Zurich Lectorium.<sup>14</sup> The school in Altdorf was an academy, or *semiuniversitas*, a kind of semi-university or enhanced *gymnasium* that was given broader privileges by the emperor that enabled it to function partially as a university.<sup>15</sup> In contrast to the universities founded in the Middle Ages, the privileges of the *semiuniversitas* were given to the town for an existing institution. This differed from the universities of Heidelberg or Paris, which had privileges independent of the town.

Unlike the Zurich minutes, the rector books of the University of Heidelberg are not primarily concerned with the actions affecting the curriculum and the student scholarships. Rather, they served more as a collection of documents and instruments of jurisdiction at the institutional level. The pope had granted

13 StAZ, E II 458, 71v: "Sexta Maij [1564] ist die gmein Censura Professorum, // Ludimagistri et Adiutorum uff der sulenn gehalten und // ist arg angesehen daß ein schulherr fürhin solle daß // ampt zwei iar versehen und bin ich [Josias Simler] also uff dass iar bestätet." See Appendix 10 for contextual transcriptions.

14 For the comparison, I relied on Jürgen Miethke, ed., *Libri Actorum Universitatis Heidelbergensis = Die Amtsbücher der Universität Heidelberg, Ser. A, Die Rektorbücher der Universität Heidelberg = Acta Universitatis Heidelbergensis*, vol. 1 (1386–1410) (zugleich das erste Amtsbuch der Juristischen Fakultät), with collaboration of Heiner Lutzmann and Hermann Weisert (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986–1999). For the following comparison, I used Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 116–24, 146–85.

15 The privilege of *semiuniversitas* is a partial university privilege given to a town for an existing institution by the emperor. The Strasbourg Academy received this partial privilege in 1566 from the emperor, see also Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*, 11. The Academy in Nuremberg-Altdorf received an equal privilege in November or December 1579. Cf. Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 71–76.

the University of Heidelberg autonomous jurisdiction.<sup>16</sup> The university therefore relied more on its own administration of justice, while the general town schools were subject to the jurisdiction of the town. The task of recording their own jurisdiction was a necessary part of the administrative actions at the University of Heidelberg. During the first half of the fifteenth century, this legal autonomy led to several conflicts with town citizens, which at times resulted in sharp criticism of “wearers of the tonsure and robe.”<sup>17</sup> The idea of academic self-administration, carried out predominantly by professors, was comparable with the actual situation in Zurich. In Heidelberg, the professors elected the rector from their ranks in accordance with the statutes—initially once every three months.

The Zurich Academy was administered by the professors together with the ministers of the Grossmünster Stift and the head of the church. However, the *Acta Scholastica* provide only an incomplete view of the professors’ involvement in the administration of money at the Grossmünster Stift because the financial management of the Grossmünster was listed in the foundation documents under “G.” In the *Acta Scholastica*, the professors drew up rules for

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- 16 See Jürgen Miethke, “Päpstliche Universitätsgründungsprivilegien und der Begriff eines *studium generale* im Römisch-Deutschen Reich des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten: Chancen und Risiken. Gesammelte Aufsätze von Jürgen Miethke*, ed. Jürgen Miethke (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–12, who discusses the privileges given to the University of Heidelberg by Pope Urban VI in 1386 modeled on the University of Paris. The foundation of the university needed the agreement of all three count palatines. They granted their agreement on 26 June 1386 (*ibid.*, 3).
- 17 Universities emerged in towns beginning in the twelfth century, but as holders of regal or papal privileges they existed outside of town law. As a result, much of the rector’s work went to judicial matters. The rector books—minutes of the University of Heidelberg kept from its founding in 1385—record these issues. There was a permanent conflict with the powerful town government and the citizens, documented from month to month. One particularly memorable event in Heidelberg was the struggle between the church/university scholars and the citizens of Heidelberg from 11 June to 2 July 1406. This conflict began without any reason between two students and one citizen without any apparent reason and escalated on the second day when the town citizens rallied behind the battle cry: “Death to the scholars, they should all be killed, the tonsured, shaved and wearers of robes!” (“*Moriantur scolares, interficiantur omnes tonsurati et rasi et longas tunicas deferentes.*”) Cf. Miethke, Jürgen, ed., *Libri Actorum Universitatis Heidelbergensis = Die Amtsbücher der Universität Heidelberg, Ser. A, Acta Universitatis Heidelbergensis, vol. 1 (1386–1410)* (zugleich das erste Amtsbuch der Juristischen Fakultät), with collaboration of Heiner Lutzmann and Hermann Weisert (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986–1999), 414, 416ff. After this ferocious verbal attack, the scholars barricaded themselves behind their walls and ceased their lectures until the king would hear them.

awarding scholarships and occasionally addressed the financial management of individual houses belonging to the school.<sup>18</sup> Also, they were financially responsible for the town's two Latin schools, partly for the Fraumünster School, and entirely for the Grossmünster School. This dual responsibility ensured a consistent conception for school education, one that linked student education at the lectorium to that at the Latin school and rendered access dependent on special conditions.

Late medieval universities, such as the University of Heidelberg, stand in marked contrast to this practice. The University of Heidelberg was independent of the town system in terms of privileges and funding. This independence included jurisdiction and curriculum. There was no link between the university and any town school system, and the minutes even give the impression that town and university government competed on occasion for benefits from the pope and emperor when they visited.

The superintendents, or *scholarcha*, of the Academia Norica in Altdorf did not begin holding regular meetings until 1582/1583—this was after the far-reaching school reform of 1581 and the awarding of “semi-university” status to the institution in 1579.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, minutes were not kept until 1590.<sup>20</sup> The documents addressed a similar range of topics as in Zurich, concentrating on discussions about teaching and student scholarships; however, they have a different character insofar as the school superintendents were themselves elected town council members. As a result, these officials were not part of the teaching staff and, as outsiders, exercised a controlling rather than a participatory function. In Zurich, the council members whom the minutes mention as responsible for the school never act on their own. For the most part, they were mostly required to confirm the professors’ decisions on the administration of the school.<sup>21</sup> There is no case documented in Zurich between 1560 and 1580 in

18 For the so-called “Provisorey” at the cloister of the Fraumünster church, Johann Jacob Friess described in 1578 his decision and its ratio based on documented decisions of the year 1566 (StAZ, E II 458, 229v-46).

19 Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 71–77; 151–54: there were meetings of a defined group of school administrators, the collegium of scholarchs, every two to three weeks between 1582/1583 and 1593, and the minutes of these meetings were preserved. The school administrators were not teachers, they were members of the town council. The meetings were slowly phased out after 1593, ceased completely by 1599, and were reactivated after 1620.

20 Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 178.

21 Example: StAZ, E II 458, *Acta Scholastica*, 37v: “Dises ward glich des selbigen tags den abent // den schulherren von den rädten fürgetragen, und darnach den 18 Maij [1563] von einem Eersammen radt // allentlichen bestätiget //.” See Appendix 9 for contextual transcriptions.

which these petitions were not agreed on or in which the town council came to a different decision from the one proposed by the commission of professors. Likewise, there are only very few cases where the town council came to its own decision on issues that were not first discussed by the commission. One of these decisions was a 1563 order against nightly disturbances by students.<sup>22</sup>

This relative freedom of the school administration to make decisions on matters of schooling independently of the town council is one of the few practices that were comparable but not identical to those at the Altdorf Academy. Though, as we learn from the school regulations of 1576, the Altdorf school and its academic director were under the control of the town council, the academic director had, by virtue of his office, a relatively high degree of freedom to make his own decisions. He did not have to consult with the town council concerning each decision he had to make in his office. The school council did not make collective decisions in Altdorf, and there is no documentation of regular meetings of the school authorities.<sup>23</sup>

Of special interest in the Zurich minutes are the student evaluation criteria.<sup>24</sup> Taking four years from the period 1560 to 1585, we can see that the assessments were highly schematic and not very nuanced. Diligence was considered important and there was a tiered set of punishments, with expulsion being the highest penalty. This set of regulations was applied very mildly. Furthermore, it was noted that the skilled trades, as a possible area of apprenticeship and vocational training for young men, were seen as an alternative for boys who did not have the intellectual capacity to read and learn from books. One indication of this is the fact that the absence of scholastic talent was the only criterion for turning down young people who were otherwise willing to learn and for having them do an apprenticeship in the skilled trades. In addition, several minutes connect skilled manual work to rough behavior.<sup>25</sup>

The minutes between 1560 and 1585 also describe the scholarships that enabled students to study at foreign universities.<sup>26</sup> They do not, however, record students from Zurich who studied without scholarships at foreign universities. These only appear in the minutes, when they asked for a scholarship when they were already a resident in a foreign institution. Between 1560 and 1575, the most important universities with which the exchanges took place were those

22 StAZ, E II 459, 42v.

23 Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 113, 117–23.

24 Goeing [Göing], "Protestantische Arbeitsethik"; Goeing [Göing], "In die Fremde schicken"; Goeing [Göing], "Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563."

25 Goeing [Göing], "Protestantische Arbeitsethik," 87–88.

26 Goeing [Göing], "Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563."

in Basel, Marburg, and Heidelberg. The students studied for one to five years at a foreign university.<sup>27</sup> By examining the matriculation lists of the universities of Basel and Marburg, we can confirm that they were in fact enrolled at these universities.<sup>28</sup>

We can see exactly what the *Acta Scholastica* documented by taking a closer look at the minutes for a single year, namely 1563.<sup>29</sup> The year 1563 was chosen because this “slice” of the minutes shows a maximum number of different actions that were related to the school. The topics ranged from the commission to compiling a textbook through student assessments to the search for a new professor after the death of Peter Martyr Vermigli.<sup>30</sup> Did the *Acta Scholastica* establish a kind of interrelated system of criteria to deal with students, teaching, and assessments?

The *Acta Scholastica* documented the daily administrative and supervisory organization of instruction. General words of assessment, usually few in number, created a framework for describing not only the desired, but also the actual modes of comportment of those students who were entrusted with a scholarship. The students were grouped according to their diligence and the exams they had passed in their school careers. Their comportment was governed by moral rules, whose breach was subject to severe punishment, including the withdrawal of a scholarship. The ultimate goal of the school career was to secure one of the church benefices.

The *Acta Scholastica* also had a long-term effect, benefitting later readers. The on-going documentation of events requiring decisions provided a referential framework for later judgments and regulations, which, in turn, assisted the head of school in dealing with his current individual cases. The documentation of current cases often referred to relevant events and decisions in the past. Thus, the minutes were a useful tool for the reader—that is, the successive elected administrative director—for providing assistance in formulating arguments and making new decisions. The regular meetings of the elected administrative director with the school board, and the documentation of these

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27 Goeing [Göing], “Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563,” 38, 40. For the number of Swiss students studying at the University of Heidelberg see the excellent diagrams in Charles D. Gunnoe Jr., “Swiss students and Faculty at the University of Heidelberg, 1518–1622,” *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition*, ed. Ballor, Jordan J., David S. Sytsma, and Jason Zuidema. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions; Volume 170 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 255–270.

28 Goeing [Göing], “Protestantische Arbeitsethik,” 40.

29 Goeing [Göing], “Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563.”

30 StAZ, E II 458, f. 32v, 38r–v, 40r–v.



meetings by means of minutes, seem to have established processes with proper rules of operation.<sup>31</sup>

Examining the town council minutes and comparing these with other examples, one must ask exactly how *justice* and *justness* were seen in relation to education and teaching. The minutes contain explicit references to the regulations, the establishment of new rules and regulations, and changes in the old corpus. We will examine the rules in order to uncover the hierarchies of rule-giving and rule-keeping that the institute established over time and that arose from claims to worldly and churchly power and identity. This raises the general question of the relationship between the Stift and the town and the basic question of elite education that the secondary literature discusses mainly with respect to the newly founded academies in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>32</sup>

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31 Goeing [Göing], "Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563," 168–69.

32 This is discussed in relation to the Holy Roman Empire, see Schilling and Ehrenpreis, eds., *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten*.

## Tabular Classification of the Zurich Lectorium, 1560–1580

In his study of the school administration in Zurich, Ulrich Ernst treated the years 1560 to 1600 as a uniform period. To describe the organizational system, he referred to the authority of the school commission headed by the elected administrative director, whose meetings were documented in the minutes.<sup>1</sup> In his opinion, this commission was not a new government board but an expansion of the *censura* that had existed for the previous thirty years. To show that the commission treated teachers very mildly, he quoted a passage from the 1563 minutes in which Gessner is asked to give up his teaching load and transfer it to two young scholars and doctors of medicine, a request that he declined.<sup>2</sup> The various duties of the commission are described in short illustrative passages: it looked after students, especially those who went to a foreign university; it kept an eye on teachers who broke the rules, such as Felix Engelhart, who took an additional job on the side; and it monitored students.<sup>3</sup> According to Ernst, the Alumnat also wrote school reports and discussed the cost of clothing for scholarship students.<sup>4</sup> It even created new guard posts when student discipline was a problem.<sup>5</sup>

Ernst's anecdotal study shows the great reach of the minutes, which we can contextualize and enhance with a list in table form (see appendices 2 and 3, tables 2 to 4). I begin here by examining the main themes of the school minutes between 1560 and 1580. I then differentiate them by analysing the rules and delving into the idea of legal practice through a detailed analysis of the minutes of 1563, which I compare with samples from the expanded period until 1585 to show the new ways in which the school minutes were organized.<sup>6</sup>

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1 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 102–103.

2 Ibid., 105.

3 Ibid., 110–11; 131; 144.

4 Ibid., 123, 137, 156.

5 Ibid., 153.

6 Goeing [Göing], "Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563," Goeing [Göing], "Protestantische Arbeitsethik."

The school minutes focused primarily on school matters concerning the treatment of students, teaching in general, and the assessment of both the students in yearly exams and the teachers in the yearly *censura*. Though the few lines giving instructions on minute-keeping remain constant from 1560 to 1580, the choice of topics was not the same for every year and was based on the individual disposition of each elected administrative director, who was responsible for the minutes.<sup>7</sup> There were years with few records on the foreign sojourns of the students, and then there were years when every decision was subject to lively debate. Theology professor Johann Jacob Friess's tenure of office as administrative director (1578–1580) belonged to the latter group. Not only did he document every action in the school in great detail, but he also subsequently placed an index with page numbers for his subjects at the beginning of the two-year minutes, giving the reader a quick overview of new decisions and old cases already treated.<sup>8</sup> It is not surprising that these two years were the ones with the largest number of renewed regulations and evaluations.

With just a few exceptions, such as a regulations concerning fines, the minutes' coverage of financial matters was limited to arranging the student scholarships with the Grossmünster Stift and the alms scholarships. The latter were administered by the town mayor, who received proposals from the elected administrative director and came to his decision together with the town council. Only in exceptional cases did the *Acta Scholastica* provide information on profits or expenses.<sup>9</sup> The minutes only dealt with this small part of the Grossmünster's finances.

The financial matters of the Grossmünster Stift that go beyond scholarships and touch on the actual income and expenses of the professors and the institution as a whole are addressed in other documents, namely, in the letter "G" file in the Grossmünster Stift documents, kept in the Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich. This file includes all the information on the financial administration of the Stift.<sup>10</sup> Before providing an overview of the other main subjects of the school minutes, I will discuss which data remained the same during the whole school year.

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7 Compare Goeing [Göing], "Protestantische Arbeitsethik."

8 StAZ, E II 458, 189r[–1] to 313v[–215].

9 Ibid., 35v, 36v, 37r, 41.ar.

10 Grossmünster Stift documents, starting with the shelf mark "G."

With the exception of a single date, the calendar of the schools fluctuated from year to year. Each elected administrative director arranged the frequency of the professors' meetings according to his own planning. As a result, in some years there were many documented meetings and in other years there were many fewer. Even the date when the new elected administrative director took up office varied. It was generally in the beginning of May but sometimes occurred in the beginning of April. Only the date of the final exam was set. It was described as follows in the school regulations:

(14v) Von dem jährlichen Examen.  
 deß jahrs soll ein Examen gehalten werden nach Ostern//  
 daß mit mehr weil und ernst, dann bißhar beschehen//  
 nach beschähenen Examen söllend die aufseher//  
 der schulen samt dem schulherren offnen und thun <“und” underlined,  
 before “und” +, at the left margin “± forte d und”>  
 und die ungfließen erfunden bschälken und straffen//  
 auch zu den Stipendiis, und derselben mehr und//  
 gen gar nienen fürderen, und soll das bschehen//  
 darum das alle schuler ein anlas habind gfließner//  
 zustudieren.<sup>11</sup>

The school minutes show that the date of the exams “after Easter” was carefully observed each year. If we compare the dates of Easter in the period from 1560 to 1585—giving consideration to the fact that, in 1583, the Gregorian calendar had not yet been introduced in Zurich—we see that the yearly exams always took place on the Monday eight days after Easter Sunday.<sup>12</sup> These exams ranged over three days each year. Each of these three days was dedicated to one of the schools: the upper Latin school (Grossmünster Stift school), the lower Latin school (Fraumünster School), or the lectorium. After the exams, the teachers were evaluated (the *censura*) and the new administrative director was elected. Initially, he was elected every year, but from 1564, the election took place every other year. The new director's first assignment was to carry out the promotions, amendments, and punishments that resulted from the *censura*.

In 1578, the elected administrative director was very unsure of when to carry out the Fraumünster *censura*: questioning the minutes and oral tradition, he established a custom of holding it in the period around St. John the Baptist's

<sup>11</sup> StAZ, E II 476, 14v.

<sup>12</sup> Easter Sunday Date Calculator at <http://users.sa.chariot.net.au/~gmarts/eastnet.htm>, accessed 13 April 2016.

Day, that is, on 24 June each year. Nevertheless, the only constant dates in the minutes and the school regulations were those of the exams and the *censura*, which were connected to Easter. The instruction finished at Easter, the exams started after Easter, and after the general *censura*, the new school year began.

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In addition to decisions made by the commission of school leaders, the elected administrative director recorded the acts that he alone executed or for which he took sole responsibility. These acts included the issuance and signing of Latin certificates for foreign students who ended their period of study in Zurich of their own accord and wanted to go home or to attend the next university. In addition, the elected administrative director also recorded other council decisions that stemmed, not from the commission of school governors, but from the town council. These included the issuance of regulations for all scholarship holders, attendance of the daily sermons in the morning (1563), and also the rule that students were not permitted to walk about the city at night (1568). The main portion of the minutes, though, was devoted to the decisions of the commission meetings.

Between 1560 and 1580, people of different offices attended the meetings, and the terminology describing who belonged to this commission was not definite. On the whole, this group included the head of the church (Heinrich Bullinger until 1570 and Rudolf Gwalther until 1586), the former elected administrative directors, the incumbent administrative director, additional professors at the lectorium, the headmasters of the Latin schools, and the ministers at the Stift. The names of the group members are sometimes mentioned at the beginning of the school year, depending upon whether or not the elected administrative director entered them into the minutes. Furthermore, the names are mentioned randomly at different points in the minutes. Until 1578, the minutes did not indicate who exactly belonged to this commission by office. The members are named very often as “mine Herren” or “my lords.”

In contrast to some of his colleagues in office, theology professor Johann Jacob Friess, who co-edited the second edition of Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* with Josias Simmler, was, as already mentioned, especially serious about keeping minutes.<sup>13</sup> He was the only one to develop a conceptual understanding of distinctions, creating two groups of “mine Herren”: the men of the Stift and

13 Conrad Gessner, Josias Simmler, and Johann Jakob Fries, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero, deinde in epitomen redacta...per Iosiam Simlerum, iam vero postremo...amplificata per Iohannem Iacobum Frisium Tigurinum* (Zurich 1583).

the teachers. He not only named them at the start of the manuscript during his tenure from 1578 to 1580, but he also commented on their absence from commission meetings. Moreover, his more sophisticated use of titles and concepts applied to the school regulations as well as new or reconstructed practices (for example, the  *censura*  at the Fraumünster around the date of St. John the Baptist's Day). However, his terms were not adopted by his successors, who did not take the minutes as seriously, and recorded only those items that, in their opinion, were the most important, without using the terms that he coined. For the successors of Friess—Ludwig Lavater and Burkhard Leemann—the most important matters were the advancement of the young scholarship holders to the lectorium and foreign universities. Worsening the confusion, the phrase “mine Herren” was also used for members of the town council, who discussed school matters when they met. They had to make and implement decisions in the school commission meetings that affected town regulations, such as the school regulations themselves or the use of alms scholarships for the students.

Several lists provide an account of the entire staff of the school. They are usually located at the beginning of the yearly or bi-yearly tenures of the elected administrative directors. A list of the elected administrative directors was presented on the first pages of the minutes (see Appendix 1). In Appendices 2 and 3, this book provides three tables (tables 2–4) containing names of staff and auditors collected from various entries in the minutes.

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The students who were enrolled at the lectorium, were mentioned only in the minutes for 1566, 1567, and 1571 (see Appendix 3, table 4). After 1559, the students “officially” had their own matriculation list. This list, called “Album in Tigurina Schola studentium 1559–1832” is held in the Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich.<sup>14</sup> It is not always complete, especially during the first years. Ulrich Helfenstein has interpreted this matriculation list statistically.<sup>15</sup> He showed the scale of new enrollment and the statistical percentage of the origins of the students from Zurich and foreign cities.

A comparison of the student entries in the lectorium minutes with the matriculation lists (however incomplete) shows that the minutes contained only

14 StAZ E II 479, Album in Tigurina Schola studentium 1559–1832.

15 Ulrich Helfenstein, *Register zum “Album in Tigurina schola studentium” 1559–1832, angelegt von Dr. Ulrich Helfenstein 1959*. Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich. E II 479 (Zurich, 1959). See also: Gerold Meyer von Knonau, “Das album in Tigurina schola studentium,” *Zürcher Taschenbuch* (1883): 141–157.

the names of scholarship holders and so-called “peregrini,” foreigners, whereas the matriculation lists also contained the names of others, who were less prominently studying at the lectorium. For the year 1566, thirty students were enrolled in the matriculation lists, of whom, however, only twenty names are listed in the minutes.

The lectorium students named in 1566 in the minutes all came from Zürich. Seven of these twenty were not present because they had been sent to Basel. In the following year, eighteen Zürich students and nine foreign students were listed in the minutes (of thirty-nine in the matriculation list), of these, ten were already there in 1566. Four of the old students had been newly sent abroad, two to Basel and two to Berne. Seven of the new students came from the upper school and three from the lower. In 1571, twenty-two students (of twenty-nine in the matriculation list) were listed as new additions, but their origins were not indicated.

The duration of some of the students’ stays can be estimated from the matriculation lists as three to four years, however there are gaps in the notations and most of the students seem noted down only for one year. The minutes give other information, such as discussion of scholarships in general and those to foreign universities, and the names of those who took exams, all helpful to reconstruct student careers.<sup>16</sup>

There is an equally incomplete list of ministers ordained in Zürich that the minister Denzler reconstructed in 1833, and that started already in 1519.<sup>17</sup> According to this list, fifteen of the twenty students mentioned in the 1566 minutes were ordained, with ordinations ranging from 1568 onwards; fifteen of the twenty-seven from the 1567 minutes were ordained (range from 1569 onwards), and ten of the twenty-two from the 1571 minutes were ordained (range from 1573 onwards).<sup>18</sup> The comparison shows that none of the foreign students were ordained, and that another handful of students were ordained who had been previously matriculated to the lectorium, but had not received a scholarship at the Grossmünster Stift.

There is one finding that remained constant with all of the available lists—i.e., those from 1566, 1567, 1568, 1571, and 1578—of the professors (tables 2 and 3). In all these years, there were two professors of the Old Testament and

16 See also Goeing [Göing], “Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563.”

17 Johann Kaspar Denzler, “Matrikel des züricherschen Ministerii seit der Reformation” (1833), StAZ E II 457 i. Denzler compiled the lists from old documents, because the original ordination matricles were lost in 1803. Literature: Emanuel Dejung and Willy Wuhrmann, eds., *Zürcher Pfarrerbuch 1519-1952* (Zurich, 1953).

18 Denzler, “Matrikel” pp. 68–80.

one professor of Greek. In addition, the upper school always had a single headmaster. All other specifications varied. Up to and including 1571, there were two professors of Aristotelian physics. This number was reduced to one in 1578, and the other, Caspar Wolf, took the position of professor of Greek. For 1578 there was no information about the professor of the New Testament, the professor of Hebrew, or the headmaster at the lower Latin school. The first professor of logic or dialectic and rhetoric from 1526 was Hans-Jacob Ammann, the elected administrative director from 1537 to 1560. The minutes from 1569 and 1571 recorded that Ammann was joined by a second professor in rhetoric and dialectic. The name Ammann does not appear at all for 1578, and a new professor was listed. As it turns out, Ammann's death was recorded in the meeting minutes of 28 April 1574.<sup>19</sup>

A peculiar fact about the changes and new appointments was that both of the scholars who subsequently became professors of the Old Testament, Wilhelm Stucki and Johann Jacob Friess, initially started work as supporting professors of dialectic alongside Hans-Jacob Ammann; only afterwards did they replace Johannes Wolf and Josias Simmler as professors of the Old Testament. Wilhelm Stucki was initially professor of dialectic and then professor of the Holy Scripture. Johann Jacob Friess moved up as professor of dialectic, and in 1578, he served as elected administrative director and second professor of the Holy Scripture in place of Josias Simmler.

Unfortunately, the reader of the minutes does not learn the reasons for the professors' appointments. Regarding the election of Wilhelm Stucki, however, one is at least able to guess what happened in the election from the infrequent notes in the minutes. The only extensive documented discussion concerned the search for a successor to the deceased Peter Martyr Vermigli from 1562 to 1563—in this case the Italian religious refugee Hieronymus Zanchi was seen as a possibility though eventually not appointed.<sup>20</sup>

Staff changes happened slowly. The first group of professors appointed by Huldrych Zwingli in 1525 and Heinrich Bullinger in 1532 was gradually replaced by newly elected professors who were sometimes outstanding former students of the lectorium—as in the case of Wilhelm Stucki, recorded in the minutes. The last professor from outside Zurich had been Vermigli—after his death in 1562, no other foreign professor was elected in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

19 StAZ, E II 458, 157r. He died 12 November 1573, according to *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, accessed 23 January 2016, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10502.php>.

20 Ibid., 35r, (35v), 36r–38r, 39r–41v, 41. ar–v, 42v, 45r–v, 46v, 47v, 48r, 49r–v, 50v, 51r, 52r–v, 53v, (54r–v), 55r–56r.

21 Karin Maag stressed this fact during a conversation in May 2010 at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan.



I would now like to provide an overview of the decisions about classroom instruction mentioned in the minutes. These records can be grouped as follows: First, administrative matters that needed to enact and enforce the yearly routine according to the orders of the school regulations; second, recorded agreements with a binding character, made between teacher, students, and the town authorities; and third, observations on the individual recipient of scholarships. The scholarship holders were regularly assessed in order to learn more about the quality and elegance of their Latin, an important part of the final exams.

In order to clarify the working of this framework, I focus on the minutes of 1563, though with some comparisons to other years. An analysis for 1563 reveals characteristics that were valid for the entire period from 1560 to 1580. The minutes treated the following subjects: administration of curriculum, schools and teaching staff; management of the scholarships; and assessment of the students and general issues of discipline; as well as decisions of the town council concerning the schools.

It is difficult to reconstruct the working of the administration because the self-representation of the school administration in the minutes was generally restrained. For many years, the elected administrative director only mentioned school administration in the passages where he indicated the beginning and end of his activity.<sup>22</sup> Preceding each of the six years mentioned above—1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1571, and 1578—were lists of names that included the people that worked at the Stift. These lists were not always complete and the ministers were included only twice. The administrative end of the school business was referred to in the minutes when collaboration with the town council was documented, school regulations were amended, or where there were financial discussions of scholarship holders, such as their quite extensive, frequent, and integrated programs of study at foreign universities.

In the case of students, an emphasis was placed on performance and social behavior. The scholarship holders were regularly examined, both orally and in writing, and many passages in the minutes conveyed the impression that the scholarship holders were part of overarching educational planning. The *Acta Scholastica* present assessments and other judgments of the work of the students and teachers, decisions about adequate yardsticks for advancement, and punishments. Often the documented results of these appraisals were included in the minutes.<sup>23</sup> Administrative collaboration with the town council was also documented there: the decisions of the town council regarding the school

22 For example 1563: StAZ, E II 458, 34r, 35r, 56v.

23 1563/1564: Ibid., 35r, 36v–37v, 39r, (39v), 40r, 41r, 41v, 41av, 42r–v, (43r), 45r–46v, 47v, 48r–49v, 50v, (51r), 51v–53r, 54r, 55r–56r.

were copied into the *Acta Scholastica* verbatim; the way how they were to be enacted was then documented individually. These decisions concerned, in particular, the general misconduct of students, such as walking through Zurich at unusual times and angering people with this behavior.<sup>24</sup> The scholarships are the most dynamic feature of the records: there were new students every year, and money for scholarships was also adjusted each year to meet student needs. Some students, for example, received a larger budget if they were abroad, usually 40 pounds instead of 25.

It remains unclear which tasks the teachers were supposed to undertake because of their office, even though textbooks and teaching methods were also discussed. These discussions focused on customizing or renewing textbooks and subject matter. The yearly *censura*, designed to assess not only the teachers and staff at the schools, but also the students, showed generally accepted patterns of teaching. The frequency of the assemblies and the decisions on matters of curriculum and judgments suggest that the school minutes should be taken seriously as documents showing on-going measures applied to the planning of education.

With each elected administrative director, the topics changed slightly in the minutes, but the major themes addressed remained the same. In this regard, the minutes retained a certain constancy from 1560 to 1580, except when a new professor was needed. When the school looked for a successor to Peter Martyr Vermigli from 1562 to 1563, the discussions and reasoning behind the choice of the new professor for the Old Testament were recorded.<sup>25</sup> In all other cases, the school minutes remained silent about these important issues.

This brief overview of practices mentioned in the minutes shows that they reveal on-going affairs concerning the organization of instruction. With their focus on the active application of the curriculum and regulations, the minutes played a unique role—no other documents performed this function. In addition, they give the reader an understanding of the hierarchy of teachers, even if this is not explicitly expressed or established. The minutes revealed that the group of teachers who met regularly with the elected administrative director to discuss school matters never decided on generally valid measures without the agreement of the town council. However, in all of these areas they had the right to make proposals, even when it came to employing a new professor or appropriating money for a student whose studies were financed by charity funds. Any decisions concerning the Grossmünster Stift funds that covered

24 1563/1564: Ibid., 38r, 39r, 41.av, 42r, 43r, 46v, 47v, (49v), 50v, (52v).

25 Ibid., 38r, 16 May 1563: Summary of a transaction that had been in discussion for half a year.

the scholarships for students of the Fraumünster School had to be reached autonomously. This decision was dependent on certain arrangements and, if there was good reason, the number of new scholarship holders could therefore vary.

### Organization of the School Year: The Case of 1563

The minutes and materials for 1563 are richer than in the other early years of the school minutes, and therefore enable us to reconstruct the school year in more detail. The 1563 school year started in May with a catalogue of measures based on the *censura* of the previous year. In a few cases, the measures were directly derived from statements documented in the *censura*. The *censura* was the last action undertaken in the previous year and was conducted and documented immediately before the new year began. In 1563, it revealed that new Greek and Latin grammar books were needed. This led to the headmaster of the Fraumünster School, Sebastian Guldibeck, being asked at the start of the new year and again at its end to compile new textbooks for use in class based on extracts from the existing books.<sup>26</sup> It remains unclear whether he acted on this request since neither the new books nor any other references to this assignment were mentioned in the minutes, not even in later years.

The exams took place toward the end of the year, shortly before the *censura*. They evaluated individual student performance: decisions were made as to who would advance to the next higher class, who would go to a foreign university, and who would be asked to take the exam again. In the *censura* that followed, students were reprimanded for behavior that did not meet common standards, such as when a student was seen on the street at night or if he appeared in public wearing improper clothing.<sup>27</sup> The list of measures used to punish this misconduct included short prison sentences and even expulsion from the school.

Prison sentences were decided on in collaboration with the town council, as we can see in the case of Melchior Rieder, one of the town scholars:

26 Ibid., 35r (25 April 1563), 55v (16 April 1564).

27 Example: Ibid., 55r (13 April 1563):

“Die Censura der Knaben ward gehal // ten am 13 Aprilis. unn Inn der selbigen wur // dent volgende stück gehandelt. // Heinrichus Bog so am oberen Stipendio, // und im Examen vast unflüßig befunden, und // darzu<o>stolz und hoffertig, und Inn der Censur // sich uber Inn nechtlchs uslouffen und ande // re ding befunden, ward In bij sijn her Vui // ken in der oberen schul mit der ru<o>ten Ze // straffen unn zedemütigen erkent.”

Melchior Rieder so in her Bruggers // Stipendio, als sich uff inn ouch  
 nechtlchs um // louffen, and ein fräfel gegen einen bader // knecht unn  
 anders befunden, ward gespart bis // uff die gmein Censur, bij deren  
 die ober // sten Schu<o>lherren von einem Eersammen radt // sijn  
 wurdint, von denen ward er dem // nach zwen tag and zwo necht inn  
 den kuttel turn erkennt, unn hiemit sölte er ge // warnet sijn mit söllichen  
 sachen niemer mee // zekommen, oder er mu<o>ste endtlicher urloub  
 erwarten. //<sup>28</sup>

Rieder was found guilty of walking about at night, committing a crime against a servant in a bath house, and other offenses. Discussion of this case was postponed until the general *censura*, at which the members of the council responsible for the school would be present. They passed a sentence of two days and two nights in the “Kuttelturm” as a warning that the student should not commit this sort of offense again or he would be expelled from school.

In addition to the *censura* of the students, there was an evaluation of teachers and assistants, the so-called *censura generalis*:

aller herren, der Läseren, // Schu<o>lmeisteren, provisoren, and aller  
 deren so // Inn der Schul arbeitend, und warend die // schulherren von  
 einem Eersammen radt ouch // die anderen herren zu<o>der leer geordnet,  
 vast wol zefriden.<sup>29</sup>

As this indicates, the town council and the representatives of the teaching staff together looked after the school system and made sure teaching functioned properly. They asked whether instruction was given and classes attended regularly and to the teachers’ satisfaction. They also determined which students were to be sent to foreign universities and who were to fill the vacant posts in the hierarchy of the school.

The minutes of 1563 recorded a series of events that were also discussed in entries for other years. On 8 August 1563, in addition to the general *censura*, separate exams were held at the lower school (Fraumünster School) that also included a *censura*. This second *censura* was irregularly documented; 1561 and 1566 were the two years with relevant entries preceding and following the event in 1563.<sup>30</sup>

28 Ibid., 55r.

29 Ibid., 55v (16 April 1564).

30 Ibid., 48r (8 August 1563). The *censura* at the Fraumünster School is documented before and after 1563: on 20 July 1561 (25r) and 25 August 1566 (81v).

In 1563, the students were examined throughout the year. These included students who had returned from foreign towns and were considered ready to take exams and students with special requests, such as scholarship applicants. A third group of examinees consisted of students who had postponed taking the exam for individual reasons and now had to make it up.<sup>31</sup>

Another recurring event was the selection of students to attend foreign universities. The duration of their stay varied according to their behavior, the fruits of their stay, and the place where the students went.<sup>32</sup>

Reports on students' performance, written in Latin, were repeatedly copied into the documents. These reports were issued to students, who needed them for their journey to their homes in foreign places, or perhaps for an application to another school.<sup>33</sup>

Minutes concerning the employment of assistant teachers were recorded in 1563 and several other years. The candidates were selected from the group of examined students to teach classes at the Latin schools at the request of the

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- 31 The following students were examined in the school in 1563/1564: 26 May: Andreas Rosenstock (39r); 29 June: Tobias Bibliander, Conrad Waser, Johannes Petrus Müller (45v); 30 June: Foelix Mueli, Andreas Rosenstock, Johannes Oswaldus Fäsi, Wolfgang Rikenmann (46r); 14 December: Wolfgang Rikenmann, Jodokus Husher, Johannes Oswaldus Fäsi (54r); 13 January 1564: Abraham Hartmann (54r); 10–12 April: Exams of the schools and in the lectorium (55r). The minutes indicate that only a few students were newly assigned to the *Lectiones publicae* (i.e., the lectorium): Rodolphus Lemann, Andreas Bek, and Jacobus Franck from the upper school and Rodolphus Wirt, Rodolphus Dutwijler, Rodolphus Bül-er, Wilhelm Höngger, Hans David Nusperli, Hans Rudolf Haldenstein and Marcus Tobler from the lower or Fraumünster school.
- 32 The following students were sent to foreign universities in 1563/1564: (36r) Wilhelm Stucki to Tübingen on 1 May 1563 and (49v) five of the upper Grossmünster Stift on 17 August 1563: Johannes Wolfensberger to Marburg, Abel Werdmüller to Marburg, and Johannes Steffanus, Leonhard Hofmeister, and Michel Heitz to Basel. On (56r) 16 April 1564, the decision was made to send five students from the lower or Fraumünster school: Samuel Fattli, Joseph Breitweg (56v), Hans Heinrich Wirt, Josua Wäkerling, and Johannes Großmann. Further debates over sending students between foreign universities and having them returned to Zurich can be found in: (42r) 20 June 1563; (50r) 17 August 1563; (51v) 8 September 1563; (53r) 29 November 1563; (54v) 21 February 1564; (37v) 14 May 1563; (52v) 28 August 1563; (54r) 19 January 1564; and (54v) 21 February 1564.
- 33 Between 1560 and 1585, these were the certificates copied into the school minutes: (24r) 30 May 1561, Thobias Bibliander; [(24v) 25 June 1561, Felix Mueller: German certificate]; (36v) 3 May 1563, Michael Hortinus Lausanensis; (37r–v) 14 May 1563, Maximilianus et Leo Semanni Durganienses; [(41r) 5 June 1563, Hans Maaler: German certificate]; (41v) 5 June 1563, Dionysius Melander Hessus; (119cr) 19 May 1570, Johannes Donsch Rhetus; (145v) 31 August 1573, Heinrich Keller; and (360r) 20 March 1583, Matthias Heinzelius Transylvanius.

headmaster. These so-called “collaborators” were school helpers and chosen after the first exam, which centred on the Latin and Greek languages and select Latin authors. The so-called “provisors” were chosen after the final exam and assumed responsibility for their own classes. Appointment to the position of collaborator or provisor was based, first, on the principle of good performance and, second, on the principle of advancing in succession. Since there was a limited number of such positions (the exact number was never discussed in the school minutes), somebody had to leave a position before the next person could be selected to take his place.

We learn more about the work of provisors and collaborators from the elected administrative director Rudolf Gwalter, who in 1561 made a number of related amendments to the school regulations. On 20 July 1561, he recorded the commission’s decision that the collaborators should at least be examined in languages and “good authors.”<sup>34</sup> In contrast to the collaborators, who assisted in a subordinate position, the provisors were to be in charge of their own classes in the two Latin schools.<sup>35</sup> Both groups, the provisors and collaborators, were also ministers in the Zurich churches.

### Travel Scholarships in 1563

As we have seen, one of the most important subjects covered by the minutes was the awarding of travel scholarships, which enabled students to study at universities, the so-called *peregrinatio academica*. The *Acta Scholastica* named the following academies and universities as places of study for Zurich students between 1560 and 1580: Augsburg, Basel, Berne, Geneva, Heidelberg, Lausanne, Marburg, Padua, Paris, Strasbourg, Tübingen, and Wittenberg. More generally, the word “England” is given as an additional place of study. Augsburg, Padua, Paris, Strasbourg, Tübingen, and England were unusual as study destinations: their selection always reflected the individual talents of the student sent there. In the case of Wilhelm Stucki, this unusual path had an exceptional outcome. In Tübingen, Paris, and Padua, Stucki concentrated on the Hebrew Language and, after finishing his studies abroad, was appointed professor of the Old Testament at the Schola Tigurina.<sup>36</sup>

34 Ibid., 25r, 31r, reference: 26 May 1563: 39v.

35 Ibid., 23r.

36 Ibid., 104v–105r: Acta as of 1 July 1568. Ibid., 121v for 1571. In the year 1569, he was mentioned next to the name of Hans-Jacob Ammann (here: Prof. Logicae) as Professor Dialectics, cf. Ibid., 112r.

Of all the possible options for study abroad, Basel was the most popular among Zurich scholarship holders between 1560 and 1580—thirty-one students were sent there. Marburg followed with twenty-five students, then Heidelberg with nineteen, Berne with seventeen, Wittenberg with thirteen, Lausanne with thirteen, and Geneva with eleven. While Basel, Berne, Marburg, and Heidelberg were provided with Zurich students every year, it was only in certain years that students were sent to Geneva, Lausanne, and Wittenberg. The documents mentioned Geneva as a place of study for 1560–1567 and 1577–1580. The student stays in Lausanne focused on the years 1564–1565, and 1577–1580. Wittenberg was mentioned as a place to study from 1571 to 1574.

The order to send students to Wittenberg was given shortly after an exchange of letters with the superiors of the University of Wittenberg in 1571. The administrative director recorded the correspondence in the *Acta Scholastica* underscoring its great importance for school politics. The university directors of Wittenberg had sent a request in favour of one of their students who came from Zurich. His name was Jonas Dickbucher. In their letter, the Wittenberg scholars tried to persuade the Zurich school heads that Dickbucher, who paid for his sojourn in Wittenberg out of his own pocket, should receive a Zurich scholarship. The letter was received in Zurich with great sympathy, not only by Heinrich Bullinger but also by the other professors of the lectorium. Only a few days later, on 25 October 1571, Bullinger was ordered by the Zurich school governing group of professors and ministers to answer the letter positively. At the same time, the administrative director informed Dickbucher that they had provided him with a scholarship due to the kind request from Wittenberg and not because of his own achievements. According to the discussion in the school minutes, they wished to ensure that he would not become proud.<sup>37</sup> In the temporary environment created by this exchange of letters between 1571 and 1573, an additional twelve students were sent to Wittenberg. A short time before this correspondence, in the first half of 1571, there were already five.<sup>38</sup> These numbers are significant since not a single Zurich student was recorded as going to Wittenberg between 1560 and 1571.

The records show the tendency of scholars to choose combinations of universities or academies for external studies. The following combinations were common: the chosen students were first sent to Basel; after they had spent some time there, they were sent to Marburg or Heidelberg. Eight students went first to Basel, then to Marburg; nine went first to Basel, then to Heidelberg; five went from Berne to Lausanne; four went to Geneva and then to Berne; and

37 Ibid., 126v.

38 Ibid., 119h r (1 March 1571), 124r, 124v (13 August 1571).

three went first to Marburg and then to Wittenberg. Two went from Lausanne to Berne, two from Heidelberg to England, and an additional two from Basel to Geneva. One went from Heidelberg to Wittenberg, one from Tübingen to Paris and Padua, one from Basel to Lausanne, and, finally, one from Heidelberg to Basel, one from Strasbourg to Paris, and one from Strasbourg to Geneva. Regardless of the experiences of individual students, the choice of universities shows how the core itinerary was shaped by attachments to the reformed religion.

### The Courses

The content of the courses at the lectorium and the Latin schools can also be derived from the occasional references and the very general exam results documented in the school minutes. The references contain information about the scholarly disciplines but usually not about the concrete texts read in class. In the 1563/1564 school year, there were three exceptions. First, the commission invited Sebastian Guldibeck, headmaster of the Fraumünster School, to compile and abridge the grammars of Jacobus Ceperinus for class instruction. The request was not mentioned again after May 1564, and we do not know what he produced or whether he even carried out this work.<sup>39</sup> Sebastian Guldibeck died shortly afterward, on 11 March 1565.<sup>40</sup>

The second exception concerns the substitute lecturers: the collaborator Jacob Huldricus worked as a substitute for Hans Fries, headmaster of the Grossmünster school, who should not be confused with Johann Jacob Friess. Huldricus did his job so well that the commission decided that he would be allowed to teach the third book of Cicero's *De Officiis* to the end. When this was done, the commission decided he could work as provisor for the church.<sup>41</sup> However, Hans Fries wanted his son to substitute for him since he had to finance this position from his own salary and his son, Hans the Younger, would cost him less. It is probable that Hans the Younger was identical with Johann Jacob Friess, the subsequent professor of theology.<sup>42</sup>

The third exception of the 1563/1564 school year occurred when Josias Simmler succeeded the deceased Peter Martyr Vermigli and alternated with the minister of the Fraumünster church, Johannes Wolf, to read the lectures of the

39 Ibid., 35r (25 April 1563), 55v (16 April 1564).

40 Compare Wilfried Kettler, "Johannes Fries—'Günstling' Zwinglis, Lexikograph und Pädagoge," *Zwingliana* 19 (1992), 208.

41 Ibid., 39v (26 May 1563).

42 Ibid., 39r–40r (26 May 1563).



deceased every other week. Vermigli's Saturday duties were also performed by Simmler because Wolf had to hold sermons at church.<sup>43</sup> The *Acta Scholastica* show that Simmler volunteered for the *Historia Regium*, the Books of Kings in the Old Testament, and started where Peter Martyr Vermigli had left off.<sup>44</sup> On Saturdays, Josias Simmler began covering the *Loci Communes* from the biblical *Deuteronomy*, which he thought could be helpful later for his own teaching. It is possible that Simmler generally referred to Vermigli's *Loci Communes*, which Rudolf Gwalther began editing in 1576.<sup>45</sup>

Another major reference to teaching was inserted in the *Acta Scholastica* after the death in 1574 of Hans-Jacob Ammann, who taught dialectic and rhetoric and was the former school director. The school commission came together on 28 April and decided that the aforementioned Hans (i.e., Johann) Jacob Friess, who had already been assisting the elderly Hans-Jacob Ammann, should now take his place and read and explain to his students not only dialectic but also Cicero's *Officia* because Cicero provided the students with definitions, divisions, and illustrative examples and would serve the youth very well. In addition to reading the *Rhetorica* (*ad Herennium*), the commission ordered that one of Cicero's orations should be read for the year. Friess was supposed to lecture four days a week, from Monday to Thursday. On Friday and Saturday, he was to do exercises with his students, such as *declamations* and *dissertations*.<sup>46</sup> This latter exercise was exactly what the school regulations of 1559/1560 had wanted; now it was put into practice by the next generation of professors. Friess, when administrative director of the school from 1578 to 1580 and professor of theology, placed great importance on a Latin school final exam procedure that was introduced in 1576. This lecture *ex temporanea* was a written ad

43 Ibid., 38r–v.

44 Ibid., 45v: "Als dann upf den 16 Maij dises 63 Jars, // her Josias simler an hernn doctor Petri Martyris // säligen stand kommen und sijn Successor worden, // daneben her hans wolff derzijt pfarrer zu<o> // dem frowenmünster geordnet mit Im ein wu // chen um die ander in Theologia zeläsen, usge // nommen den sampstag, als obstadt, hat er uff // den 21 Junij Im nammen Gottes angefangen, // und nach gfallen der verordneten, zu der // leer, für sich genommen Historiam Regum an // dem ordt wo her doctor Martyr sälig er // wunden, fürzefu<o>ren. //"

45 Ibid., 45v: "Am 26 Iunij, fieng her Josias Sim // ler an in her hans wolffen wuchen, lut // obgedachter ordnung den 18 Maij angesähen, // den sampstag zu versähen, nam für sich veli // che Locos Communes ze tractieren so den audi // toribus zu dem verstand etlicher orden Deu // teronomij in welchem er dise zijt las, gar // dienstlich warend. //"

The work is Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci Communes*, ed. Rudolph Gualther (Zurich: Froschauer, 1580 [cited here], other ed. London: Vautrollerius, 1583; Zurich: Froschauer, 1587).

46 StAZ, E II 458, *Acta Scholastica*, 157 r–v.

hoc translation from a German text into Latin. The examiners had to be present when the students were doing this. This was a relatively new didactic measure. His predecessor in the office of school director, Burkhard Leemann, had made it a new examination rule, and his successor, Ludwig Lavater, included one (badly written) sample text as proof in his minutes in October 1580.<sup>47</sup>

The exams included the Greek and Latin languages with select authors of classical literature and, until 1583, philosophy as part of the *Artes liberales*. In addition, the final exams covered preaching—that is, exegesis of the Bible. This last part was central to the final exams and was taken very seriously.

The first and second generation of theology professors at the lectorium had shaped the manner in which their students read the Bible, which was different from Lutheran interpretations. When in 1563 Hieronymus Zanchi was rejected as a new professor of the Old Testament, it was because of his faith: he had signed the Augsburg Confession and was closely affiliated with the Italian refugee group in Geneva. The confession was a major topic as early as 1561. Heinrich Bullinger's addition to the school regulations on 24 May 1561, consisted of a confirmation of faith (*confessio fidei*) that all foreign students had to read at the beginning of their school year. Bullinger had written it because he had observed that some of them were not firmly committed to the Zurich church and believed some very "dangerous errors."<sup>48</sup>

What career path did students in the lectorium follow? In a number of cases, one can chart the path taken by the students when they entered the service of the church and school.<sup>49</sup> Advancement was always attributable to

47 Ibid., 170r: 30 April to 2 May 1576: school exams; 337r (21 October 1580): sample.

48 StAZ, E II 458, 31r. See Appendix 7 for contextual transcriptions.

49 For additional examples of positions in 1563 see: Ibid., 42v (Hans Bierbruijer was ordered to move from a position as school assistant [provisor] at the Fraumünster school to a church position as a minister in Höngg, a small town in the countryside of Zurich), 48r (item), 48r (Hans Herter was given a similar order), 48v–49v (Felix Engelhart, the provisor at the Fraumünster school was offered a better position as provisor. Like all other positions of provisor at the Grossmünster school, the new position involved preaching at an affiliated church. Engelhart refused the offer and presented many arguments to justify his decision, one being that he had bought a house close to the Fraumünster school. The administrators at the school convent were eventually able to persuade him. They, too, had many arguments, and cited the scholarship regulation, stating that the new position had to be accepted: with his scholarship, he had agreed to serve the church if the church ever needed him.), 51v (Hans Jacob Brenwald was asked to take over a private teaching position in Augsburg in the house of a certain man called von Stetten. The school commission allowed Brenwald to return his scholarship if the position was not what he expected it to be. This was exactly what he then did.), 53r (item).

the candidate's performance and diligence, whether promotion entailed moving up to the next class or going to foreign countries after the exam, or whether the position at stake was the first office of minister or the offices of provisor or collaborator at the school.<sup>50</sup> In the case of promotion, the next job had to be vacant—that is, the person in a higher position first had to be promoted in order to make room for the next candidate.<sup>51</sup> Even though studies at foreign universities were not an integral part of the duties of students with a Grossmünster scholarship (as defined in the scholarship statutes), emphasis was placed on sending as many students as possible to foreign universities, even if it was only for half a year in Basel.<sup>52</sup> In the 1563/64 school year, five scholarship holders from the Grossmünster school were sent abroad in the summer and five others from the Fraumünster School were selected at the end-of-year *censura* to start their *peregrinatio academica* after Easter 1564.<sup>53</sup>

The relationship between the two Latin schools that sent their best students to the lectorium was clarified in 1566 with the new school regulations for the Alumnat at the Fraumünster School, now called the *Collegium*. Both schools had the right to send an equal number of their best students to study at foreign universities, once they had passed their exams and were admitted to the public lectures at the lectorium. The students who came from the Fraumünster School were required to repay the travel funds to the Grossmünster Stift.<sup>54</sup> Financial bottlenecks occurred when students were permitted to continue to

50 Ibid., 35r; 36r; 37v, 41v; 39v; 46r; 48r, 50v; 51r, 54r, 54v. Exams: 36v, 39r; 46r.

51 Ibid., 36v. (Since two ordinary scholarship holders had nearly completed the charity scholarship program, two “extraordinarii” were able to succeed them.), 38r (Josias Simmler who was already in office at the Zurich Schola Tigurina, was now named the successor of Peter Martyr Vermigli.), 42v (Provisor/Collaborator), 47v (Guardian in the lectorium), 48r (Provisor: process of succession that included the parishes), 49v (Collaborators), 55v (Collaborators).

52 StAZ, E I 13 (Rules for giving scholarships, the text bears the date 1560 written in pencil on the lower margins of the first page). See my contribution “In die Fremde schicken,” and compare Maag, “Financing Education, the Zurich Approach,” 209.

Compare StAZ, E II 458, 49v: the documents give the impression that every desire uttered by students wishing to go to foreign universities was fulfilled. This fit in with the scholarship organization, which explicitly and warmly recommended foreign scholarships.

53 Ibid., 49v (17 August 1563), 56r–v (16 April 1564).

54 StAZ, E II 440, pp. 179–92: Ordnungen und satzungen gestellt den fünffza<e>hen la<e>rnenenden knaben zu<o>dem Frowenmünster. Bullinger, *Schriften zum Tage*, ed. Bächtold, Jörg, and Moser, 241–60. Translation into contemporary German: Bullinger, *Schriften VI*, ed. Campi, Roth, and Stotz, 417–34.

receive the scholarship or to stay at the foreign university longer than expected, even as additional students were given financial support.<sup>55</sup>

### Criteria for Dealing with and Assessing the Students

Many of the school minutes addressed the assessment of student performance and behavior. Although the actual criteria for advancement were based on scholastic performance throughout the period, the assessment of moral conduct created a kind of career framework. Behavioural modes marked boundaries that were not supposed to be transgressed and concerned comportment in society.

There were only a few defined concepts regularly used to evaluate students. Undoubtedly, the most important was “diligence.” There are many instances in the *Acta Scholastica* for the 1563/1564 school year that used diligence as a criterion for student evaluation. “Diligence” qualified a student to be eligible for a scholarship, and *diligentia* was part of the vocabulary used in certifications for foreign and local students.<sup>56</sup> In another part of the minutes, a student who did poorly in the exams was advised to study “diligently” in theology and transcribe lectures as well as sermons if he wanted to preach in the future.<sup>57</sup> The students that were sent to foreign towns were urged, among other things, to be “diligent,” and a student who was given a scholarship after the exam was admonished to attend lectures and sermons and study “diligently.”<sup>58</sup> Another student was given a generous scholarship to leave Zurich and study in other places, provided that he brought letters from his professors confirming that he was doing well, had attended lectures regularly and “diligently,” and had “disputed” well.<sup>59</sup> An attempt to remove a school assistant was resisted on the grounds that he had accomplished his task well and with special “diligence.”<sup>60</sup> Promotions were made from collaborator to provisor based on great “diligence” and praise.<sup>61</sup> The schoolmaster asked for more money because he had worked diligently for a long time in the service of the school—and had only received a small salary.<sup>62</sup>

Students were also admonished to be pious, diligent, obedient, and decent in general.<sup>63</sup> Thus, diligence was treated as a moral quality although it entailed

55 Ibid., 55v.

56 Ibid., 35r, 36r, 37v, 41v.

57 Ibid., 46r.

58 Ibid., 51r, 54r.

59 Ibid., 50v.

60 Ibid., 39v.

61 Ibid., 48r.

62 Ibid., 50v.

63 Ibid., 48r.

ideas of hard work, attentiveness, long hours of study, and the accumulation of knowledge.

Attentiveness was assumed to produce the good grades on the exams that were a foundation for extending a student's scholarship from the Grossmünster; "wol gstudiert" (well studied) was the criterion for providing a student with a charity or alms scholarship.<sup>64</sup> Sermon preaching was a subject in the exams, and students were retained for half a year if performance in the exams did not meet the expectations of the jury.<sup>65</sup> There were only a few exceptions where the exams as a measurable outcome of the studies were not taken as the foundation for evaluation. In one case, an advanced student was employed as a collaborator without having taken his exams—a better candidate had not been found.<sup>66</sup> In another case, "delight and love" for studies was seen as a sufficient argument to accept six boys into the charity scholarship program.<sup>67</sup>

The Latin report cards issued to foreign students who were about to return home and needed proof of their studies included the phrase "magna in suis studiis versatus diligentia" ("dedicated to his studies with great diligence"). Only a few Latin report cards were documented in the school minutes. Between 1560 and 1583, there were nine recommendation letters, but two of them were in German.<sup>68</sup> These short assessments recommended the students to the next institution. The elected administrative director of the lectorium issued them at the request of students and provided them on the day they were applied for with his signature and official seal. Since, according to the tradition of school doctrine, the aims of humanist school discipline were "bene loqui et bene vivere" ("talk well and live decently"), the letters separated the evaluation of studies from the assessment of behavior and ways of living.<sup>69</sup> The most eloquent of the seven Latin recommendations described the candidate's moral conduct as follows: "conversationis suae integritate morumque probitate pro ingenij sui candore ornavit."<sup>70</sup> ("He is known for his honourable and

64 Ibid., 36v, 39r.

65 Ibid., 46r.

66 Ibid., 40r.

67 Ibid., 41.a.v.

68 See note 68.

69 Compare my book: Anja-Silvia Goeing, *Summus Mathematicus et Omnis Humanitatis Pater: The Vitae of Vittorino da Feltre and the Spirit of Humanism*. Archimedes 33 (Dordrecht, Heidelberg, New York, London: Springer, 2014), 271n128.

70 The citation stems from StAZ, E II 458, 41v for 1563. The seven recommendations are: (24r) 30 May 1561, Thobias Bibliander; (36v) 3 May 1563, Michael Hortinus Lausanensis; (37r–v) 14 May 1563, Maximilianus et Leo Semanni Durganienses; (41v) 5 June 1563, Dionysius Melander Hesus; (119cr) 19 May 1570, Johannes Donsch Rhetus; (145v) 31 August 1573, Heinrich Keller; (360r) 20 March 1583, Matthias Heinzelius Transylvanianus.

upright behavior reflecting the purity of his character"). The German expressions in the assessments, also found in other minutes, had many similarities. The minutes reported that the candidate "wohl studiert" or "ziemlich studiert" ("studied well" or "quite well") based on the elected administrative director's satisfaction with the student's exam results.<sup>71</sup> In both the Latin and German documents, "diligence" was named explicitly as a criterion in discussions of student admissions.<sup>72</sup>

In the sections assessing ways of living, particular social behaviours were not specified and were not rewarded in any special way. Brief rules and regulations of conduct expressed the expectations of the school commission and the town council; the only particular form of conduct they mentioned was absence from class and misconduct on town streets.<sup>73</sup>

Throughout the period, and especially in the yearly *censura*, the minutes discussed and warned against idle behavior in school and dissolute behavior on the streets.<sup>74</sup> In 1561, an amendment to the school regulations allowed the elected administrative director to collect fines if students did not attend lectures or church or if collaborators and provisors did not show up for work. These amendments, as we shall see, were not always observed, and the administrative director only made use of them in certain years. The collected fines were then used to pay the expenses of poor students, usually by the same elected administrative director and in the same year.

Grave offenses, such as sexual misconduct or prohibited trips out of the canton, were punished by expelling the student from school and revoking his scholarship.<sup>75</sup> In the case of repeated bad behavior, the student could even be brought before the town council. As a punishment and by way of warning, the offender would have to spend two days and nights in the *Kuttelturm*, a form of prison.<sup>76</sup> If the expelled students showed good conduct, they were allowed to take the exam after a period of expulsion for three years.<sup>77</sup> In 1563, all the students who were examined in this way were admitted again to church service and were given a scholarship.<sup>78</sup>

71 For examples, see *ibid.*, 35r, 39v, 46r.

72 *Ibid.*, 35r, "allen denen knaben so // flijßig studiertind und der hilff wol bedörffind": Criterion to be eligible for getting a scholarship.

73 *Ibid.*, 42v, 46v–47r: This was an order of the town council.

74 For an example from 1563, see *ibid.*, 55r–56v.

75 *Ibid.*, 47v.

76 *Ibid.*, 56r.

77 Compare *ibid.*, 27v, 39v.

78 According to the minutes, they were Andreas Rosenstock and Tobias Buchmann in 1563 (*Ibid.*, 40r).

Andreas Rosenstock, the subject of a message to the town mayor on 9 December 1561, had his scholarship removed.<sup>79</sup> The minutes reported that he would have no chance of being admitted again after three years, even though this was the usual period of dismissal. But on 5 June 1563, after only one and a half years, he was examined and given a new scholarship.<sup>80</sup> This shows that the school commission was forgiving when it came to former delinquents. Twice during 1563 outsiders intervened on behalf of a student to ensure that his scholarship was restored after he had been expelled or was at risk of being expelled. Between 1560 and 1580, there were only about fifteen cases where the delinquents were dismissed (“geurlaubt”) and not readmitted, all of which had to do with misconduct, mostly marriage, a quarrel, or general laziness (“undiligence”).<sup>81</sup> Once in 1563 former elected administrative director, Ludwig Lavater, intervened together with the town council, and another time a father requested that the town council allow his son to be examined.<sup>82</sup> On both occasions, the young men in question were given the chance to demonstrate their skills in the examination, and both times they were again granted a scholarship.

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A good career in the system provided the student with a Latin school education and took students from the Latin school to the lectorium, where they participated in the *lectiones publicae*. These advanced studies were sometimes connected to the teaching duties of collaborator and provisor, who helped the two headmasters of the Latin schools. After the Latin schools, at some point during the stay in the lectorium, when the students had a good standing, they could embark on the most desirable path: studying at a foreign university. At the end of their studies they were admitted to the final exam. If a post was available, the student could then become a provisor at one of the churches in Zurich canton and finally receive his own parish. A few very bright students—in some cases family-connections played a role—received one of the teaching positions at the lectorium. They included Josias Simmler from 1563 to his early death in 1576; Georg Keller and Caspar Wolf from 1566 to 1603 and 1566 to 1601, respectively; Johann Wilhelm Stucki from 1568 to his death in 1607; and Johann Jacob Friess from 1571 to 1611.

Other goals on the school educational path were not mentioned. The whole idea of studying medicine at a foreign university was not mentioned either.

79 Ibid., 27v.

80 Ibid., 39v.

81 For examples, see Ibid., 12r, 27v, 30v, 116r, 118r, 119ev, 119gv, 124v, 173r, 233r–49.

82 Ibid., 36v, 42r.

However, it must have been possible, as suggested by Ludwig Lavater's letters requesting a scholarship for his son Heinrich in 1580 to study medicine and by the 1552 *Fürschlag zu der Artznij* (proposal for medicine) for Georg Keller and Caspar Wolf.<sup>83</sup>

According to the scholarship regulations, which were not contradicted by other documents, the scholarship provided a sort of paid apprenticeship for independent church service at the teacher's desk or the minister's pulpit. After a one-year probation period, the student signed a contract with the Grossmünster Stift in his parents' presence and with their agreement.<sup>84</sup> To receive the scholarship, the candidate had to be diligent and must have studied at one of the two Latin schools.<sup>85</sup>

There were also general criteria for the equal treatment of pupils in both schools. In 1563, two students of the Fraumünster School were not sent abroad because there was not enough money to send all worthy students. The matter was postponed for half a year and then five students of the Fraumünster School and no students from the Grossmünster School were sent.<sup>86</sup> The Lectorium demanded that the students studying abroad bring evaluation letters written by the teachers but did not require students to take exams or obtain foreign degrees. Together with a personal interview on their return to Zurich, these criterion determined whether the student would be allowed to take the final exam.<sup>87</sup> If their studies at a foreign university were not beneficial to the student, or he was negligent, he might be sent home to the Zurich Lectorium, as we can see in a letter exchange about a number of students at Basel.<sup>88</sup>

The final exams of advanced Lectorium students who had come home from their years abroad were held on different dates during the year, not only at

83 StAZ, E 1 13, Reisestipendia 1552–1618, letter by Ludwig Lavater and supplication of town mayor as of 21 September 1580; Ibid., letter of 24 November 1552.

84 StAZ, E 1 13, N. 21, Stipendia: Stipendienordnung.

85 Ibid.: "Zu<0>dem Ersten, so man Knaben uß den // Schulen an die Stipendia annehmen wil, sol // der geordnet Schu<0>herr bij den Schulmeiste // ren erfahren, ouch selber ein flißig ufsähen, // haben, das die aller züchtigisten und flißi // gisten Knaben, so gu<0>te ingenia habend, gern // studierend, und von denen sonders zehoffen // ist, ufgezeichnet werdint. Söliche sol er // anzeigen den predicanten, Läseren und ver // ordneten zu<0>den Schu<0>len, die söllend einen // uszug thun, und den selbigen an die her // ren Gstiftspfläger von rädten vnd Burge // ren vnd dem Capitel darzu<0>verordnet, // zu<0>Bestätigung langen laßen."

86 StAZ, E 11 478, 49v–50r, 56v.

87 For general rules on behavior in foreign regions, see *ibid.*, 51r (31 August 1563). See below note 87 for those who returned from their journey.

88 Ibid., 52v–53r (2 October 1563).



Easter. Sometimes only one person at a given time was examined. This exam consisted of two parts that were treated separately. First, the candidate was examined in languages and the *artes liberales*. Then he was given time to prepare for an exegesis of the Bible, pay his debts, and buy clothes to represent his new status. Finally, the exam was held in theology, and the candidate was required to interpret a passage from the Bible. If he did well, he was qualified to be admitted to one of the parishes—no further details of their future were recorded in the documents.<sup>89</sup> The procedure of 1563 was still the same in 1580 because Johann Jacob Friess during his tenure as elected administrative director followed the school regulations of 1559 and their amendments. On page after page, he recapitulated his adjustments of the sloppier practices of his predecessors by citing the school regulations and the school minutes wherever necessary. Except for the new introduction of the *extemporanea*, an ad hoc Latin translation of a German text, the rules and memorized procedures for the exams were the same in 1580 as in 1559, and were part of a school tradition that Friess was determined to maintain.

The subsequent careers of students are not clear since we only find sporadic information in the minutes on the employment of the school's graduates at parishes.<sup>90</sup> Just as positions in the school could only be filled when they became vacant so a qualified scholar could only become a minister in a parish if there were a vacancy.

89 Cf. *ibid.*, 37v (14 May 1563): “Uff disen tag wurdent fůrgstellt Vuilhelmus // Wäber und Vuolfgangus Rikenman, so von hei // delberg, und Johannes osualdus fäsi vnd Conradus // Waser, so von Bern heim berufft warend, und // nach dem sij verhört, wo, bij wem sij gsin, was // sij ghört für Lectiones, was sij für kuntschafften // und fůrgschripft habind, ouch was sij an der frömb // de und sonst schuldig bliben, hat man inen mit // ernst bevholen. 1. die predigen flißig zu<o>besuchen. 2. die Lectiones, Theologicas Noui und // Veteris Test. vorab, demnach ouch andere flißig // zehören. 3. allen ordnungen der schul mit // heimischer gebürlicher bekleidung und dem wan // del zugeläben. 4. ire schulden trüwlich zu<o>be // zalen. 5. und sich angends upf ein gmein Exa // men in linguis, artibus unn Theologia rüsten.”

90 Compare *ibid.*, 48r: The appointment of Hans Herter to a church parish in the canton of Turgau is only mentioned because his position as a provisor at the upper school (Grossmünster Latin school) was to be offered to a new candidate. The same is true for Hans Bierbruijer, provisor at Frauenmünster school, who was to be succeeded by Rudolf Collinus, who had previously taught in the third class of the upper school “mit großem fliß und lob versähen.” The focus is clearly on the internal affairs of the school.

## The Practice of Regulations: Explicit References to Rules

We have already seen that the 1559 school regulations contained clear and detailed information about the single units of school organization. They also set standards for the proper behavior of students and teachers at the school. In this chapter, we will ask if and how these rules, terms, and standards entered school practice by examining the organization and use of the minutes. It will be argued that the use of the minutes as a “memory book” was facilitated by search tools and aids that were in use in the library and encyclopaedic literature of the time, not in the administration of the Grossmünster Stift as such.

We will also investigate whether the professors’ decisions were made with explicit reference to rules and procedures. These consisted of the general disciplinary rules for students and also the steps that student should have followed in class and at the yearly exams. In view of teacher evaluations, it is important to understand how influence was exerted on instruction and course practice using the school regulations. In particular, I examine how the rules were interpreted and applied to individual cases, and if individual cases had any influence on the interpretation of rules in general. The procedure of documentation is central to this question: what conventions explain why particular decisions and certain rules were given prominence in the minutes? It is also important to learn how new school regulations were inserted into the body of the existing regulations and what role the school minutes played in establishing them.

### Organizing Principles

Since we are investigating the value of the school minutes as a “reference script” for decisions in the daily affairs of the schools financed by the Grossmünster Stift, we must first ask how accessible they were to subsequent users. The elected administrative directors organized the meeting minutes into paragraphs for every subject, sometimes with titles and subtitles, and in most cases arranged chronologically and by date. Except for the first page of every year’s account which had a prominent, clearly marked position in the documents, subject titles were used infrequently throughout the book. But when

present, the subject titles included names of students, the yearly *censura*, and the yearly exams. There were subject titles as early as 1560, but no administrative director made an effort to use them as an organizing principle, with the exception of Johann Jacob Friess. He made consistent use of them throughout his account, matching them with his index entries and allowing the documents to be read more easily and quickly.

Other documents were either copied into the minutes or included as separate insertions. Aside from transcribed letters and letters of recommendation, we find a handful of original mandates written and signed by the town scribe (Stattschriber), the assistant town scribe (Underschriber), and the account scribe (Rächenschriber). These date from 1561, 1563, 1564, 1568, 1569, 1572, 1578, and 1580.<sup>1</sup> The mandates by the town in these years were always added as originals and never written into the minutes. Other inserted papers included letters written by students, as apologies, or as exams *ex tempore*. Friess added one of many possible *ex tempore* exams in order to prove that the candidate had performed poorly.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the minutes, the reader comes across many lists, not included in every year, and usually not spanning more than two years, with the exception of two lists in the period up to 1580. One exception was the overview of all the administrative directors of the Zurich school at the beginning of the minutes. This list extended from number 1, the name of Hans Jacob Ammianus, "*professor // der Latinschen sprach, Dialecticae // unnd Rhetoricae, uom Jar Christi // 1537. biss uff 1560*" to number 104, "*Casparus Orellius, Philos. prof. ab anno 1802 usque 1804.*" Zwingli (without dates) and Bullinger (1532 to 1537) were named without numbers in a prefatory note.

In the second, drafted by Johann Jacob Friess in 1578, he created a list of the fifteen scholarship holders at the Fraumünster college in 1578, indicating the year they entered:

1570. // *Hans Jacob Widerkeer* // *Hans Rudolff Kuchmeister* // 1571. // *Hans Rudolff Hug* // 1573. // *Hans Wydenman* // 1575 // *Raphael Fyly* // 1576. // *Marius Boumler* // *Hans Jacob Buman* // *Hartman Sprungly* // *Caspar Murer* // *Jacob Kemler* // [next row starting at the hight of 1570] 1577. // *Zacharias Schmid* // *Rudolff Hubenschmid* // *Hans Henrich Blaß* // *Josias Clauster*. // *Hans Jacob Meßikommer*. // 1578. // *Hans Henrich Zingg*. // *Casper Waser*. //

1 StAZ, E II 478, 24ar, 43r, 109ar, 117r, 133ar, 231r, 334r, 336r, 339r.

2 Ibid., 337r–v, 336v.

In addition to the two lists covering a number of years, there was a table that spanned more than one or two years, showing, like Friess's list, the duration of each student's stay. The table bears the date of 27 September 1582, in the subtitle, but was inserted in 1585, between the dates of 27 November and 18 December. This was a second comprehensive list of the then fifteen students at the Fraumünster Collegium (Alumnat) and their stay at school, made for the *censura* of the Fraumünster School that took place on 27 September 1582, when the administrative director of the Lectorium was Burkhard Leemann.

The first of the students in the table, Hartmann Sprüngli, was admitted from the upper school to the collegium on 6 August 1576. Leemann recorded more information than Friess, giving the full date of admission. Sprüngli stayed in the collegium for six years, one month, and twenty-one days until 27 September 1582, when Leemann recorded the exact duration of his stay. We also learn that Sprüngli did not attend the public lectures for the whole period. These two bits of information are new in comparison to Friess's table, as was the inclusion of a row showing the student's sponsor. The table indicated that Master Felix Sprüngli was Hartmann Sprüngli's main sponsor and also mentioned a certain Hans Balthasar Sprüngli.<sup>3</sup> The transcript of the 1582 table was as follows: [372br]: *Catalogus Amplissimi Senatus Tigurini // quindecim alumnorum, inferioris Collegij. //* (see fig. 9).

This document from 1582 used but amended the list of students by Friess. Both referred to the new use of the *Cappeller Hof* Alumnat at the Fraumünster School, which from 1566 officially became a boarding school for advanced Zurich students who started to attend the public lectures, the lectorium, after some time of study and evaluation. More than the regulations themselves, the table and list show the sophisticated connections between the single parts of the school, the Alumnat (now the collegium), the two Latin schools, and finally, the lectorium, or, as they were also called, the public lectures.

The minutes contained many lists but only one index, that made by Friess. These lists provided information related to the people who were affiliated with or belonged to the school, though not recorded for every year; lists of amendments to the school regulations in 1560 and 1561; and, finally, lists of the students who were sent to foreign countries every year. Unfortunately only one of these, drawn up by Friess in 1578, is a general list of all Zurich scholarship holders at other universities.<sup>4</sup> Two lists, one by Burkhard Leemann in 1574 and

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 372br.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 190r–193v: List of all people educated by the Zurich church according to their status. Friess made one smaller list consisting only of penalty payments for 1578 on 250v.

Annis et menses, in quibus in collegium est ascriptus.	Nomina alumnos	Anni et menses et dies quibus coniuhere in collegio.	anni quibus et quot publicas lect. audiusve	Ex quo ludo spe quidienrit	Nomina sponsorum uniuscuiusque
1576. 6. August	Hartmanus Sprüngli	6 Jar 1 monat 21 tg.		Ex Superiore	M. Felix Sprüngli: Haupt un Hans althasar Sprüngli
1577. 28. Januar	Zacharias Schmid	5.Jar. 8 monat 5 tg.	ijj. Jar.	Ex Inferiore	Hans Urich Lochman.
1577-5.Junij.	Rodolphus Hubeschmid.	5. Jar. 3 monat. 22 tg.	ijj. Jar.	Ex superiore.	M. Hans Rudolff schwytz.
1577- 5. Junij.	Iosias Clauser.	5. Jar. 3 monat 22 tg.	ijj. Jar.	Ex superiore.	D. Caspar Wolph un Hans Heinrich Clauser.
1577. 18. novembris	J. Jacobus Mesiromer	5. Jar. 10 Monat. 9 tg.	ijj. Jar.	Ex superiore	D. Jacobus Huldreichus
1578. 24 Maij	I. Heinrich Zingg	4. Jar. 4 monat. 3 tg.	ijj Jar.	Ex superiore.	h. Johans Zingg.
1578. 24 Maij	Caspar Waser.	4. Jar 4 monat etg.	j Jar.	Ex superiore	H. Andres Waser.
1580. 11. Maij	Ioannes Gualther	2. Jar. 4 monat. 16 tg.	ijj jar	Ex Inferiore	H. rudolff gualther.
1580. 11. Maij	Lucas Esslinger.	2. Jar. 4 monat. 16 tg.	ijj Jar.	Ex superiore.	Hans Balber.
1580. 11. Maij	J. Heinrich Buchmann	2 Jar 4 monat 16 tg.	ijj Jar	Ex superiore.	Jörg Fietz.
1580. 11. Maij	Iosias Wirtz.	2 Jar 4 Monat 16 tg	ijj Jar	Ex superiore.	Caspar Wirtz.
1580. 11. Maij	Mathias Leeman	2 Jar 4 monat 16 tg.	ij Jar.	Ex inferiori.	Andres Leeman.
1581. 16. Decembris.	Rodolphus Faesi.	9 monat 11 tg.		Ex superiore.	Jacob Faesi unn Cunrad Houwmüller.
1582. 21 Aprilis	I. Felix Schörli.	5 monat. 6 tg.		Ex inferiori.	Cunrad schörli
1582. 22. Septembris	Joannes Teck.			Ex superiore.	Heinrich Schuffelberg.
	Joann: Lindiner: an H. hart. Sprüng statt.				Joan. Jacob. Lind.

FIGURE 9 Burkhard Leemann, "Catalogue of fifteen alumni of the Fraumünster Collegium," 27 September 1582, StAZ E 11 458, 372br

one by Friess, were kept to record the penalties that students had to pay during the academic year and how their fines were spent.<sup>5</sup> Friess used the organizing and presentational tools of index and lists extensively. His index had 174 entries and consisted mainly of three groups: the names of students, the organization of staff groups, and the direct references to the school regulations and their application.<sup>6</sup>

This short itemization of finding aids shows that Johann Jacob Friess was the one administrative director of the school who made the effort to make the school minutes into a memory book according to the enhanced standards already followed by the town council in its memorials prior to the Reformation.<sup>7</sup> These methods of organization were also those of the subject index in the 1531 Zurich Bible, and of Gessner's, Simmler's, and Friess's own encyclopaedic arrangements of knowledge, deployed from a chronological and historical perspective.

The work of Burkhard Leemann is also important in this respect. In 1582, he prepared the first analytic table (mentioned above) for the minutes by putting together different sources of knowledge to describe the fifteen scholarship holders at the Fraumünster College, their careers from Latin school onwards, and the status of their knowledge, that is, whether they were attending public lectures or not. Analytic tables have a history in Zurich scholarship, but they had not before 1582 been used to solve practical problems in the Zurich school, nor in the Zurich town council. The most famous tables put to scholarly use were the chronologies by Heinrich Bullinger (1565) and Theodor Bibliander (1551), both intended to explain history according to the Old Testament's writings by Daniel. Both compared dates from different sources with the help of long tables.<sup>8</sup> Bibliander also produced another comparative table. In searching

5 Ibid., 158v–159r. Ibid., 315r–319r: General list of financial input and expenses, concerning the penalties of the two years 1578 and 1579.

6 Ibid., 196v–217r (25m).

7 Cf. StAZ, B II, 106 (1559): It contains not only memorials of the meeting decisions in German and in chronological form with date but has also at its end an index, organized alphabetically and as well as by topic, place, or name. The entry for the new school regulations is under “s”: “Schul=Ordnung. 2” [e.g., on page 2]. The old town council memorial books before the Reformation were similarly structured, for example B II, 6, of 1484: Each paragraph contained a decision of the town council, written in German, and the year had an index at the end containing names, places, and topics. The difference to the later documents was that the decisions were recorded without date. Until 1487 (B II, 13), the matter that was resolved was merely crossed out, without further explanation.

8 Bullinger, *Daniel sapientissimus dei Propheta*; Theodor Bibliander, *De ratione temporum, christianis rebus et cognoscendis et explicandis accommodata, liber unus* (Basel: Oporinus, 1551).

for an accurate language to translate the Bible into the vernacular, he collected explanations for biblical terms in different languages and compared them in a large table published in 1548.<sup>9</sup>

The use of tables and lists standardizes and makes more accessible the information contained within the minutes. They make the record more than a mere diary, enabling it to be used to calculate and compare results and outcomes of individual years. These techniques of the school administration emerged from the desire of Zurich scholars to organize and order newly gained information in all scholarly subjects.

### Recording the Regulations

How did the decisions documented in the minutes refer back to the regulations and did they develop a specific terminology? This question concerns the way specific terms were developed. Did a hierarchy of rules emerge? Arguments for and against particular rules and methods of applying them were also written down in the minutes. The handling of rules and orders achieved a certain regularity.

How did students advance pedagogically? Do the rules reveal that a preference was given either to the fostering or the regimentation of student life and learning? Did these procedures facilitate career steps or even attract them?

In the very first paragraph of the new school regulations in 1560, Johannes Wolf, the first administrative director after the enactment of the new school regulations, explained the reasons for the appointment of the administrative director and the writing of minutes. According to him, the aim of creating the position of administrative director was very simple; the director had to ensure that the school regulations were being observed.<sup>10</sup> Johann Jacob Friess wrote in 1578 that he collected regulations in a book of statutes, “Buch der Satzungen,” or a book of school regulations, “Buch der Schulordnungen.”<sup>11</sup> (The confusion of the terms *school regulations* and *school statutes* was already present in the *Acta Scholastica* by 1560.<sup>12</sup>) It is impossible to say which documents he is referring to, though they are probably conserved among a collection of school

9 Bibliander, *De Ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*.

10 StAZ, E II, 458, or.

11 Ibid., 412, 415.

12 Cf. StAZ, E II 458, 27v (1561).

regulations covering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that was kept among the papers of the Grossmünster Stift.<sup>13</sup>

The new regulations for the Alumnat—or, as it was now called, the Fraumünster Collegium—were introduced in 1566.<sup>14</sup> For the first time, its rules officially referred to the Alumnat as a collegium. The former names in 1538 were “Cappeller Hof” and “Alumnat.” The term “collegium” was already used in 1560 to describe the situation of the boarding students at the Fraumünster School, and after 1566 it was also not a technical term in a narrow sense. Sometimes the upper Latin school was also referred to as a “collegium.”<sup>15</sup> After the Fraumünster regulations were introduced, the school regulations of 1559/1560 as well as the former Fraumünster regulations were called the “old” regulations, whereas the Fraumünster collegium regulations were referred to as the “new” regulations.<sup>16</sup>

Administrative terms were not only interchangeable, as in the case of collegium, they also stayed the same in the minutes throughout the years. Terms, however, sometimes changed in meaning; the most striking instance was in the criteria concerning whether a student was subject to the regulations. From 1566 on, if a student received a scholarship, he was therefore grouped with the people who had to observe the regulations.<sup>17</sup> This brought certain privileges, such as the possibility of being sent to other universities. In 1578, Johann Jacob Friess redefined all students as “within” the regulations, as long as they attended the public lectures, regardless of whether they had scholarships or came from Zurich or other places. Friess’s definition also included those who came back from foreign studies before they went on to serve in a parish.<sup>18</sup>

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Reference to the 1559 rules and regulations can be found not only in the use of specific terms but also in the justification of practices. The regulations were cited the most when the elected school director needed arguments or criteria

13 StAZ, E 1, 15.

14 8 October 1566: 79r, confirmation; 14 October 1566: 79v, organization; and another confirmation on 29 October 1566 (84r).

15 Ibid., or, 13v, 14r, 76r.

16 Ibid., 85r (1566), 149r (1573), 183r [176r] (1578), 185r (4 April 1587).

17 Ibid., 75r (13 May 1566).

18 Ibid., 223v–34 (22 May 1578): “Der Sazung sind underworfen die publicas lectiones hörend, auch die // von wandlen kommen, aber nach nicht zu predigen uffgestellt werdend. //”



for excluding a student from the lectures (perhaps because of misconduct), or even expelling the student in question altogether. Also, on 16 September 1578, Johann Jacob Friess invoked the school regulation that could be used to exclude a candidate because of his physical disabilities and recorded his decisions based on the regulations in the school minutes.<sup>19</sup>

One practice directly related to the school regulations was their declaration in public. In the earlier discussion of the school regulations, we learned that this was to be done by reading the regulations aloud in front of the students and teachers once a year. This practice followed the model of the town council whose regulations, which structured the actions of the two councils, were presented before the council members twice a year when the council was changed.

Unfortunately, Friess was the only administrative director who recorded in the school minutes that this practice was actually done. From his record, we know that the Fraumünster statutes were usually read every year after the new students were accepted.<sup>20</sup> Following this tradition, he himself read the statutes and regulations on the last Saturday in May 1578, when the Fraumünster students gathered together with the newly admitted students and their parents.<sup>21</sup> Friess read the statutes to the students of the Fraumünster Collegium (Alumnat) again on 5 April 1579, and then after the *censura* of the students of the Grossmünster schools, before 3 May, when the *censura* of the professors began.<sup>22</sup> In 1580, the regulations were also read, as was customary, to the Grossmünster Stift students, this time between 12 and 17 April 1580, and again after the *censura* of the students and before the *censura* of the professors.<sup>23</sup>

We only know about the implementation of the regulation requiring that the school rules be read aloud through the minutes recorded by Friess. We do not know how many students attended the ritual reading, nor do we know whether the regulations were distributed in any other way. On at least one occasion, the schoolmaster of the lower school was told by the elected administrative school director that he should not discuss the regulations with the students but punish them without a discussion.<sup>24</sup>

From time to time, the elected administrative director also met with the professors of the lectorium to discuss improvements to the school regulations.

19 Ibid., 241r–65 (16 September 1578).

20 Ibid., 228r–43 (27 May 1578).

21 Ibid., 229v–46 (on the last Saturday of May 1578).

22 Ibid., 262v–115 (5 April 1579) and 266v–123.

23 Ibid., v–211 (between 12 April and 17 April 1580).

24 Ibid., 72r (12 April 1565).

These deliberations were usually caused by problems that were identified by a particular professor and could not be handled by the old regulations. For example, in 1561, Johannes Wolf introduced a system of fines into the school rules to punish student misconduct.<sup>25</sup> This new rule was, however, overlooked by most of the school directors, and only re-enacted in 1574.<sup>26</sup> Friess was the first to use it to its full extent in 1578. He made long lists of the fines money, where it came from and how he spent it.<sup>27</sup> In addition, Friess tightened the clothing regulation, intended to prohibit luxurious or extravagant dress. How students should dress was an important issue that was referred to very often throughout the years. Friess even wanted to read the regulation aloud before the tailors and shoemakers to keep them from violating the school rules.<sup>28</sup>

Friess, who was concerned that the school had moved away from its earlier aims, tried to clarify the rules through research into the existing regulations. In the process, he rediscovered neglected practices such as the use of fines and the date for the holding of the Fraumünster *censura*.

Furthermore, Friess searched through the minutes noting down all alterations and new rules that his predecessors had introduced. He compiled them in subject groups, with the date when the new orders were given and with the next amendments that were made, all under one header.<sup>29</sup> These amendments to the school regulations and their recording are much more than a written record of daily school practices. By virtue of their organization, these minutes created a new way in which the administrative directors could put them to use.

The minutes also demonstrated the administrative procedures in matters of instruction and teaching. More specifically, they documented the events leading from consultation in the commission to the application of the regulations. In such cases, the written records were used rarely, except when an unusual case had to be dealt with, or when the decision made in the commission was related to an action that had taken place earlier.

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25 Ibid., 21r (24 April 1561).

26 Ibid., 159r (June 1574).

27 Ibid., 250r–83 (for 1578) and 315r–217 to 319r–221, for both years, 1578 and 1579.

28 Ibid., 249r–81 (10 December 1578): “Den schnyderen und Schumacheren sol dise ordnung // auch vorglesen werden, damit wen sy die kleyder amderst // machind als nach obgmeldter ordnung, sy gewarnet sigind, // das man inen dieselben wider schiken werd, unnd sy den // herren obman um den züg thuch oder leder im aber arf thun // sollind. etc. //”

29 Ibid., 222r–224v.

This occurred on several occasions. Thus, in 1564, elected administrative director Wolfgang Haller referred to earlier attempts to commission a Latin textbook when Sebastian Guldibeck was ordered to compile existing textbooks into a synthesis for the upper classes.<sup>30</sup> In another case, the administrative director referred to an entry in the minutes made two years earlier to corroborate the rule that the candidate for the post of assistant (*collaborator*) must have taken and passed his examinations.<sup>31</sup>

In some instances, repeated references were made to a student's career. Tobias Bibliander, whose father was Theodor Bibliander, the professor of Old Testament who retired in 1560, was granted a new scholarship on 26 May 1563, after he passed the entrance exam. Three years earlier, as recorded in the entry dated 18 December 1560, he had lost his scholarship privileges because of a love affair with a maid in his father's house, whom he had then proposed to marry.<sup>32</sup> The relation to earlier events is only briefly mentioned.

Though Friess acted according to the same principles, his accounts of past events were much more elaborate. He listed all entries under a heading with their full date when he conducted his research. The historical investigations he undertook in the minutes to legitimate his understandings of the rules had its parallel in the Zurich church. When Heinrich Bullinger fought for the autonomy of the Grossmünster Stift before the town council in 1532, he used exactly the same method to show that maintaining the Grossmünster Stift as a teaching and learning institution was in keeping with the decisions which the town council had made in 1523.

The individual occurrences and procedures recorded in the minutes can be broken down into an unfolding series of up to four common elements: a request by involved parties, such as parents or teachers; the discussion in the meeting; the decision of the commission; and reference to acting on the decision, such as increasing scholarships in the case of foreign studies.<sup>33</sup> The enactment of the decision was documented in each case. In some cases, a decision was made without consulting the commission. Usually the minutes only recorded agreed-on decisions, omitting the discussion that led to them.

30 Ibid., 35r (25 April 1563), 40v (28 May 1563), 56r (16 April 1564) with reference to the two earlier instances (25 April and 28 May 1563).

31 Ibid., 39v (26 May 1563): Reference to the decision made on 20 July 1561: "wie aber den 20 Julij Im // 1561 Jar under her ru<sup>o</sup>dolfen Walthers schu<sup>l</sup> // verwaltung geordnet, das kein Collaborator // Inn der Schu<sup>l</sup> sölte gebrucht werden, der // nit dess minsten zavor in Linguis und artibus // examinirt were."

32 Ibid., 40r with general reference to the documented decisions in 17ar and 24r.

33 Ibid., 35v (25 April 1563).

In the case of financial decisions involving payments from funds other than those of the Grossmünster Stift (e.g., the acceptance of a student into the alms scholarship program) or precedent-setting decisions that went beyond the individual case, the proposal was reviewed by the town council or the school representatives in the town council or by the town council accountants and the town mayor. In all of these cases, a letter of agreement or a decree was drafted.

Only twice in 1563 did the town council pass decisions on school matters without being requested to do so by the elected administrative director. In the first case, the council enacted a new law that described in detail the students' duties concerning daily attendance at church.<sup>34</sup> The second case dealt with a father's request that his son be given a scholarship again. The town council decided that the professors should examine the young man in order to judge the case.<sup>35</sup>

During 1563, the elected administrative director, Wolfgang Haller, recorded the implementation of a decision under the date that the decision was made—even when the enactment occurred months later. With this, he broke the chronology of the minutes in order to emphasize the close relationship between the two.

The minutes also reveal the reasoning behind important decisions. For example, they explained why the Strasbourg scholar Hieronymus Zanchi was not under consideration to succeed the deceased Peter Martyr Vermigli, even though he was invited and interviewed at least twice. Because he had signed the Augsburg Confession and was too closely associated with the Italian church at Geneva, he was deemed unsuitable.<sup>36</sup>

Friess's records of 1578 include not only the arguments discussed within the commission but also how their decisions should be implemented. Similar to Haller in 1563, Friess provided a great deal of detail. But it is much more difficult to follow his entries chronologically because he organized his entries using topical paragraph headers to create large lists. As a result, the reader does not know exactly if decisions were reached on all of the individual topics on one date. The *Acta Scholastica* not only recorded the decisions of the commissions and their outcomes, but it also compiled a collection of individual cases that concerned the instruction and the assessment of students and provided the basis for future decisions.

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34 Ibid., 43r (30 June 1563), 46v–47v.

35 Ibid., 42r (20 June 1563).

36 Ibid., 32v (14 December 1562), 38r (16 May 1563).

Very rarely do the minutes reveal that the documentation was actively used by the elected administrative director or his successor. When this does occur, the minutes were used to formulate arguments or for research into the history of individual or group behavior. We need to determine the extent to which the records had an influence on these practices and if they were able to contribute to bending the rules in favour of individual students and cases or even to change rules entirely. These questions will be the subject of the next subchapter since the level of legitimacy of the minutes is important, as well as the question of whether their legitimacy extended beyond mere documentation and pointed to a broader system of values and newly generated rules.

### Establishing New Rules

I will now focus on what role the school records played in formulating old and new rules. In the period between 1560 and 1580, each administrative director of the school referred explicitly more than once to the school regulations. This was exactly their duty; the first director in 1560 claimed that the post of administrative director was created to look after the school regulations. In the period from 1560 to 1580, five passages in the school minutes summarized or quoted additions to the school regulations that were enacted in 1559. These additions were not always recorded elsewhere, which made the school minutes a very important repository of records and a memory book.

The evolution of the school regulations after 1559 went through five stages. The 1560/1561 school year mentioned six additions to the regulations and the 1561/1562 school year another four.<sup>37</sup> In 1566, the new college rules in the Fraumünsterstift were introduced and were hence forward distinguished from the school regulations of 1559 as the “new” regulations.<sup>38</sup> They included a complete reorganization of the scholarship program that now encompassed the two colleges, the Alumnat at the Fraumünster and also the Grossmünster Stift. This scholarship reorganization was important for the school system since the students with scholarships were the core group of sponsored students. In the fourth phase in 1574, a new order was given after the death of Hans-Jacob Ammann, about the teaching of rhetoric.<sup>39</sup> Finally, within the two year period from 1578 to 1580, the school’s director, Johann Jacob Friess weighed and

37 Ibid., 21r (24 April 1561). Ibid., 31r (after 10 April 1562).

38 Ibid., 75v (13 May 1566), 79v (14 October 1566).

39 Ibid., 157r, 157v.

recorded every single decision against the backdrop of the school rules. He also introduced the “Book of Statutes,” which encompassed all of the existing regulations at the time.<sup>40</sup>

Of the supplements, only the new college regulations of the Fraumünster School were later kept in a different location as the papers of the Alumnat. After Friess, with the exception of Leemann’s advanced use of a table-diagram in 1582, his meticulous minutes were not copied. Rather, the old manner of writing down the main happenings during a meeting was used, without an index or other search aids.

The minutes revealed that the school regulations were thought of as an evolving document and were therefore to be reviewed and altered from time to time. The minutes, in their double function as a record-keeper of processes and results, were not only a memory and search aid but also contained details about what led to the creation of new rules and under what circumstances these rules were created.

On three different occasions the minutes included summaries of newly created regulations. In the school year 1561/1562, a summary clarified the way the school regulations were enhanced during the past year. Improvements were made and listed. The next summary of this kind was undertaken one year later, in 1562, and then only in 1578—that is, three years after Heinrich Bullinger’s death. The last summary was of a different nature since Friess based every decision he made against the backdrop of the past eighteen years. In other words, he did not create new rules, but he drew on and monitored old ones.

The rules imposed in 1560/1561 introduced monetary penalties for a range of offences including student absence from class, teachers’ absences from lectures, and students’ failure to wear their jackets. These penalties applied only to students and teachers with salaries from the Grossmünster Stift:

24 April 1561, Schulherr J. Wolf

21r

Ußzug der Schu<o>lordnungen und Satzungen // so diß verschinen Jar, zum teyl ernüwert, // und zum teil ufericht sind, luth der acten. //

Als hievor langest angesähen, das weliche Stipendiaten on erloubnus ire lectiones // versumend, ein batzen zu<o> rechter Bu<o>s verfallen sin söllind: damitt man // sölichem unfliß nit zu<o> lang zu<o>sähe, ist wyter erkennt, das gedachte bu<o>ß von // den überträttenden durch den pedellen also bar inzogen werde etc. acten // am 6. Höwmonats anno 1560. Mitt gonst Her Burgmeyster Müllers et. //

40 Ibid., 199r–18.

Weliche Provisores und Collaboratores, one erlaubnus der Schu<o>lmeysteren, // und bestellen eines anderen an ir statt, ire Stunden in den Schu<o>len ver=// sumbtind, die selben söllend, so dick des beschicht, j. ß zu<o> bu<o>ß verfallen sin, // und inen die selbig by den a<o>mptlütthen, an ir besoldung inngehallten // werden. Es söllend ouch die Schu<o>lmeyster daruf ein flißig ufsähen haben // acten mitt bewilligung Herr Müllers, 6. Höwmon. anno etc. 60. //

Alle Studennten und Schu<o>ler so das Almu<o>ßen oder Stipendia habend, söllend // fürohin ire röck anlegen, und die überträttenden von ieden Herren geleidet, // und umm ein sächser gebu<o>ßt werden, acten in der Censur anno etc. 61 //

Die Diaconj und Jungen Predicanten, so in unser gnedigen Herren statt dienst // habend, söllend beide Hebraicam und Novi Testamentj lectiones, under // einanderen ummgahn laßen, also das welicher ein Jar Hebraice geläßen, // das nechst daruf volgend Jar in Testamento Novo läse, und ein anderer // an sin statt die Hebraisch lection versähe. Wie dann M[eister] Ulrich Zwinglj. // so bishar Hebraice geläsen, diß künftig iar in Novo Testamento, und an sin // statt M[eister] Burkart Leman Hebraice läßen, werdend. Doch sol zu<o> // allen halben Jaren, sölichs irs läßens halb ein frag darumm gehallten werden, damitt die zu<o>hörer nitt mitt unteugenlichen läßeren beschwärt // werdind. Acten 24. A<o>pril. anno etc. 61. //

These monetary penalties were originally introduced with the approval of the town mayor. A further amendment concerned young ministers. They were expected to teach Hebrew and the New Testament for a year, as written in the school regulations of 1559, and, after that, the New Testament, taking turns in this post. They were to be reviewed every half year.

Why were these amendments created and were they observed? The first two changes, concerning the absence of students and teachers, were established on 6 July 1560. The minutes document how these decisions were made and why it seemed necessary to improve the school regulations. In their meeting on Saturday, 6 hay month (July) 1560, the group consisting of the school director, the professors, the ministers, and the schoolmaster, whose names are recorded in the minutes, discussed two complaints. In the first, Dr. Gessner drew attention to students of his who had recently returned home to Zurich from studies abroad but were now absent from his lectures. Sebastian Guldibeck, in turn, lamented that the collaborators and provisors of the Grossmünster Latin school frequently came late to classes. During the meeting, the group decided to punish future misdeeds of this kind. Fines were to be collected by the beadle from the scholarship holders and deducted directly from the salaries of the provisors and collaborators.

The structure of this procedure, in which a final decision was made, can be described as follows: First, claims were brought in by attendees. In reaction to the concrete complaints, the group decided on adequate measures. As a second step, the decision was presented to the town mayor, who was asked to accept the change to the regulations. The date of the record is the day of the meeting and was officially enacted at the meeting, not on the day it was accepted by the town mayor. The names of the group members were listed under the decision. This shows that the administrative director's meeting was more important than the town mayor's decision.

Did the administrative director of the school execute these decisions and how long did the execution last? The fines were kept in place from the actual decision in 1560 to the end of the 1565/1566 school year. With the exception of 1567 and 1574, there were no fines from 1566 to 1577. The fines in 1574 were used as additional funds for scholarships. Johann Jacob Friess cited the decision of 1560 and used fines extensively from 1578 to 1580. He listed the fined students and the sums they paid in a list at the end of his tenure. His successor did not charge fines, returning to the practice that was common before 1578.

In his register of school records for 1578–1580, Johann Jacob Friess systematically reflected on the penalty laws among the other dos and don'ts of the school. He used summaries of the decisions before him to re-enact the old regulations. Friess put into effect most of the regulations of the previous twenty years. The minutes between 1578 and 1580 reveal what kind of law or justice was supported and how the minutes themselves were a medium for formulating these legal concepts. They show that what kept Friess the busiest were the penalty regulations.

Friess mentioned the penalty regulations four times in his account of the 1578/1579 and 1579/1580 academic years: first in the index that he placed at the beginning of his records; second, when he drew on the minutes to find earlier regulations that supported his attempt to reintroduce the penalty regulations; third, when he formulated a list of fined students and described what he did with the money for the 1578/1579 year; and fourth, when he listed fines for the whole period he was in office from 1578 to 1580. His second mention of the fines, made when he researched the administrative background, is transcribed in the appendix and analysed here (see Appendix 11). The transcription includes the fifth meeting and parts of the sixth meeting of the academic director with the professors responsible for governing the schools and the lectorium. The fifth meeting was held on 16 May and the sixth meeting on 22 May 1578—both shortly after the administrative director Johann Jacob Friess came into office. Both addressed the matter of the fine system and the decision whether or not



to reintroduce it to identify and punish students who were not attending the morning service.

Friess counted twenty-five students who went to the public lectures, the lectorium, and held a grant from the Grossmünster or the town (from the charity funds called *Almosenstipendium*). He then noted that he had admonished them “paternally” and read to them six articles from the school regulations concerning good behavior. The six articles in question stemmed from the school regulations of 1559 and the amendments later added in 1560, 1561, 1563, and by his predecessor Wilhelm Stucki in 1578. Friess recorded the prior regulations and included the dates when they appeared in the minutes.

According to Friess’s interpretation of these regulations, students were forbidden to miss the lectures (I) and church services (II): a fine of 1 and 2 Batzen was imposed for not obeying. Articles III and VI concerned chaste behavior in public, article IV contained the rule requiring students to speak in Latin and not in German, and article V the requirement that they wear the right clothes, or be subject to a fine.

Friess then told the students that nobody had previously checked whether the students had written down the sermons and lectures but that they should start writing down the sermons and going to the lectures on the following Sundays to avoid the fine. Despite his admonition, he later discovered that only three or four of the then twenty-four had written down the sermons. So he sent the beadle to admonish them one more time. In the minutes, Friess stated that the students from the Grossmünster apologized and acted obediently, whereas the students from the Fraumünster Collegium (*Cappeller Hof*) did not understand their wrongdoing and told the beadle that their schoolmaster would respond. Friess thought they might perceive his actions as interference, and he therefore asked for another meeting of the school’s governing body. This took place on 22 May 1578.

On that day, he reported that he was able to prove that the students had not been diligent in writing the sermons. He also pointed out that he had read the old regulations of 1563, among others, to them. The governing body decided to act against the non-diligent students individually. The governing body also confirmed that the administrative director was in charge of monitoring them because this kind of student laziness was the result of not upholding the school regulations properly.

Friess also reported in the minutes that he had told the commission about the students in the *Cappeller Hof*, in the Fraumünster Collegium. The commission decided that students both from Grossmünster and Fraumünster should be fined for missing church service and not noting the sermons. They then clarified what kind of notes the students should take during the

sermons—recording, what they found useful and elegant (*fürnembst*) in each and every sermon. The students were required to sit in the pulpit in the Grossmünster and the choir in St. Peter's so they could be seen and counted. One diligent student would write down the names of those who were absent. The beadle would collect the money from the absentees within eight days or otherwise punish them with a stick. Similarly, attendance at the lectures was to be checked and absenteeism punished. Here the professors were required to record the names of the absentees; the beadle's job was to admonish the students to pay; and the administrative director had to collect the fines and was expected to act diligently.

In the next paragraph of the minutes, the administrative director recorded his enactment of these tougher rules. He had asked the beadle to come every Saturday (in the margin above: Tuesday) to hand over the list of non-diligent students. Checking at the service was also to take place each week. In parenthesis, he described the monitoring system: "Note: If there is no administrative director to do this, everything is in vain—experience has shown this." At the end of his period as administrative director, he recorded the success of his efforts, enumerating the money collected in fines every month.<sup>41</sup> Each month around two to three students had to pay a fine to the administration. This money was then redistributed among the diligent students, who were able to buy extra clothes and books with it or to pay for the treatment of illnesses. All of this was noted meticulously.<sup>42</sup>

Friess's long entry indicated that he not only considered the old regulations as binding but also adapted them to the situation when he thought the students were not acting as they should. He changed the regulations slightly to alter the mode of monitoring and the role played by the administrative director. He "imported" the old statutes and recorded them; he wrote down his changes and the decisions of the school meeting; and, finally, he recorded his successes, i.e., the amount of money he collected. But he seems to have been more concerned with enforcing the rules than in learning whether implementing the discipline would make students more knowledgeable or willing to read.

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41 Ibid., 315r–217 to 317v–219.

42 Ibid., 318r–220 to 319r–221.

## An Archive of Stable Practices

We began Part III by examining the content and significance of the school minutes as seen in the context of comparable documents in the Holy Roman Empire. Comparative research showed that there was no equivalent that appeared in print, and that, in terms of their scope, the *Acta Scholarcha* of Altdorf were comparable but were begun only in 1583. Furthermore, the *Acta Scholarcha* were commissioned directly by the town council, whereas in Zurich the teachers themselves determined the school government, which gave the school within the Grossmünster Stift an autonomous character.

A detailed analysis then revealed the achievements in education and administration. The minutes that we examined from 1560 to 1580 revealed a set of practices for administering the school and monitoring and fostering the students—first and foremost, those with scholarships. These practices remained quite stable in this period of time. Most of the events mentioned were recurrent, and the day of Easter, as the most important day on the calendar, formed a fixed date for exams, the yearly *censura*, and the beginning of the new school year.

The minutes also revealed a number of preoccupations that the academic director noted down regularly. The *peregrinatio academica* was a major concern of the minutes; much attention was paid to the selection and monitoring of scholarship students studying at foreign universities. Whereas the course contents were only occasionally described, the criteria for assessing the students was of central importance to the *Acta*. “Diligence” was the most common term used to describe the students that did well. When students were lazy, the school council started introducing punishments, forcing them to pay fines for not attending classes or church. It proved difficult to collect fines and the most diligent administrative director, Johann Jacob Friess, was the only person to apply and enforce fines completely, documented by lists from 1578 to 1580.

I next examined the most important features of the minutes as an instrument of administration. Search aids and other organizing principles indicated that the school minutes were meant to be used later on, after the documentation completed. Headings, an index used by Friess during his tenure, and some inserted lists show that, at times, encyclopaedic and other scholarly and librarian knowledge was used to facilitate subsequent searches for topics in the minutes. The most laborious of these tools were created by Friess, but his successors reverted to keeping the minutes less stringently.

From the outset, it was clear that the function of the minutes was to enforce the regulations and to ensure that they were applied. The minutes also showed how practices developed, especially when the regulations were cited extensively in order to justify such actions as the dismissal of a student. The act of reading the regulations before the students was documented, but not until 1578 and 1579, when Friess extensively reported on what was going on at the school. Friess also tried to clarify existing rules by researching the regulations. In doing so, he discovered misuses and neglected practices, such as the penalty rules that had been introduced in 1561. The minutes do not make comparisons among individual students, yet they do offer extensive commentary, with reference to the school regulations, in cases where the same student was the subject of repeated positive and negative entries.

Finally, we examined the creation and establishment of new rules and the role played by the *Acta Scholastica*. How was their formulation documented? We identified five steps between 1559 and 1580 that enhanced and altered the existing school regulations. The decisions related to improvements show that the school regulations were seen as an evolving document. The minutes also functioned as a search and memory aid since the decisions related to improvements and the inserted original letters from the government were noted and added here and not elsewhere. A comparison between the characteristics of the improvements and Friess's work showed that his main goal was to enforce the old rules, not create new ones.

Why was the act of documenting important for administering the institution? Were the recording and documenting practices similar to those of the town council? We can look at this question in a comparative perspective using Josias Simmler's book *De Republica Helvetiorum* (1576).<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, Simmler was not only the author of a comparative account of Swiss governmental practices, Simmler was also professor of theology at the Zurich Lectorium beginning in 1560.<sup>2</sup> In his book, Simmler listed and explained in detail the different government systems of the towns in Switzerland—both Protestant and Catholic.

In the summary given in the book's preface, Simmler praised some general forms of government, citing Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle. States were governed, in particular, through meetings (in line with Cicero's writings), where decisions

1 Simmler, *Regiment*; Simmler, *La republique des Suisses*; Simmler, *De republica*. See also Thomas Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republik. Staatsverständnis und Repräsentation in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

2 Georg von Wyß: "Simmler, Josias," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), vol. 34 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1892), 355–58. Simmler succeeded Peter Martyr Vermigli in 1563.

were made, and through effective statutes that were written down diligently.<sup>3</sup> Simmler described how to find and create statutes and regulations on the basis of Plato's writings. The people in charge, he said, should collect all the statutes that were available—be it from the Venetian Republic or other regimes—and take detailed notes. Then, they should compare them and adopt the best ones for their own government. Simmler did not make clear what would be the best form of governance, arguing only that different governments should be evaluated comparatively. The most important preparation for establishing good government was to create a highly detailed description of how governing was done in other places. This is exactly what he achieved in his book *De Republica Helvetiorum*. He described in detail the different forms of government and how the people were governed in other parts of Switzerland, in times of war and peace and in the past and the present. With his comparative historical research, Simmler constructed a valuable tool, gathering notes and comparing them—a tool not only for scholars but also for politicians. However, this broad comparative approach was not evident in accounts of the Zurich school, which confined themselves to local rules and practices.

Thus, memory books and minutes in Zurich do not show comparisons to other towns or schools. Within the school administration, a special encyclopaedic form of noting decisions and events was used by a single administrative director—not by Simmler, but by Johann Jacob Friess, who succeeded him as professor of theology in 1576. Friess managed the school according to the school minutes, which in his hands became a highly refined tool of note keeping. Simmler's own school minutes, compiled some years earlier between 1564 and 1566, when he was administrative director, were not as detailed as they should have been according to his own account in his book on the Helvetian Republic.

How did this archive of school minutes help in administering the school? And how did changes happen? As we have seen, as a chronologically arranged archive of the school's daily affairs, the minutes kept track of the students, collected new regulations and improved old ones, added the town decisions, made demands for readings, and helped to memorize tasks. In their organization, the minutes did not compare individual cases but gave equal weight to the two Latin schools and the lectorium. Very rarely did they attempt to push forward traditions by talking about necessary and unnecessary matters. However, ethics as a subject was seen as unnecessary in 1563, and in 1579, philosophy exams were described as unnecessary, though they became binding in 1583.

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3 Simmler, *Regiment*, 2r–3r.

In individual cases, the minutes attempted to set a benchmark for standards, notably in those written by Friess. Changes occurred because the administrative director and the school council acted on complaints and decided to improve the school regulations if the complaint represented a general problem—many students had to misbehave for the rules to change. We have also observed practices changing when the rules stayed the same. Ironically, highly critical and detailed documentation, as practiced by Friess, who was very strict with the rules, brought less change, but rather a preservation of old rules.

## PART 4

### *Class Instruction: Lectures and the Use of Textbooks*







## Zurich's Textbooks and Class Instruction: Introduction

It is this indeed an outstanding example of courage, that he was not ashamed to acknowledge juvenile errors neither with his friends, nor also in publications, and to confess, and to warn young men by his example, how they should better organise their studies.

JOSIAS SIMMLER about CONRAD GESSNER (1566)<sup>1</sup>

This chapter focuses on textbooks and their use in Zurich. The argumentation consists of three steps. First, I examine the secondary literature in order to provide an overview of how textbooks were used, especially in the German-speaking parts of the Swiss confederation and the German-speaking part of the Holy Roman Empire, focusing on research about the well-documented case of the Strasbourg Gymnasium. Secondly, I want to explain the situation in Zurich by organizing the different source types and revealing their interconnections. These are the descriptions of teaching from school regulations and school minutes; the textbooks composed by Zurich teachers, such as Theodor Bibliander and Conrad Gessner, or published by Zurich publishers, such as Christoph Froschauer; annotations; and finally teaching manuscripts. In a third step, I focus on one of the works that was planned for use at the Zurich Lectorium, Gessner's commentary on the Aristotelian *De Anima*, published in 1563. Gessner is representative of a certain method used in Zurich to organize knowledge that had nothing to do with the pedagogy introduced by Petrus Ramus, even though it relies on similar organizing principles, the so-called *Loci Communes*. Finally, I discuss the special character of Zurich teaching between 1560 and 1580.

Discussions of the use of textbooks are usually integrated in research on curricula and school or university histories, such as the *Handbuch der Deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* (1, 1996), the *History of the University* (2, 1996), or Paul

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<sup>1</sup> Josias Simmler, *Vita clarissimi philosophi et medici excellentissimi Conradi Gesneri Tigurini* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1566), f. 5r: "Est hoc quoque ingenui animi praeclarum exemplum, quod ipsum non pudit iuveniles errores, cum apud amicos, tum etiam in publicis scriptis agnoscere et fateri, ac suo exemplo adolescentes monere, quomodo rectius studia sua instituire debeant."

Grendler's *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (2002).<sup>2</sup> There are also encyclopaedias and collected volumes that deal with types of text organized by topic. These are less often used to give an overview about books taught in universities but focus on literature created for school age and young children. As a reference book about children's literature in the German-speaking regions, Theodor Brüggemann and Otto Brunken's two-volume encyclopaedia *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* covered the period between the beginning of print culture around 1470 and 1750.<sup>3</sup> They described four classes of works read by children and youth in German-speaking lands, which were partially used as textbooks in school: first, religious literature, then works for improving the classical and the German languages, rhetoric, and other subjects in the tradition of the *artes liberales*, third, literature to improve moral behavior, and finally didactic literature that was at the same time entertaining. Their work has been seminal for the study of the early modern period.

Textbooks used in academies and universities are hardly separable from other kinds of scholarly work, such as treatises, reference books, or simply reprints of classical texts that were also used often, but not always, for the purpose of teaching. The line between more didactical and less didactical works is very thin, and treatises were used alongside academic textbooks and lecture notes. In his introduction to the book *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, Anthony Grafton argued for a more pragmatic formulation, in which every text in the format of a book is a textbook, if it is used for teaching, no matter what kind or format.<sup>4</sup>

In recent years, research has addressed the questions of how and by whom books were read in historical contexts, how notes were taken from them, how

2 Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Pädagogische Konzeptionen," in *Handbuch der Deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 1, 1996, 153–96; Arno Seifert, "Das höhere Schulwesen," 229–52, 268, 335–45.

Laurence Brockliss, "Curricula," in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800), A History of the University in Europe. 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 565–620.

Paul Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 236–47, 252–66, 269–313, 324–28, 330–32, 335–36, 343–45, 367–81, 385–87, 395–407, 408–15, 416–27, 434–43, 447–73.

3 Theodor Brüggemann and Otto Brunken, eds., *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Vom Beginn des Buchdrucks bis 1570* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986); Theodor Brüggemann and Otto Brunken, eds., *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Von 1570 bis 1750* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1991).

4 Anthony T. Grafton, "Textbooks and the Disciplines," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, 13–26.

the books themselves were annotated, and how knowledge was transferred in a very material sense of the word from one book to another or to other writings, such as letters.

Inquiries that deal with reading and book-guided learning in the widest sense belong, like the textbooks themselves, to the “history of the book.” This is a relatively young field. It began in the 1980s with the publications of Robert Darnton about book markets and Anthony Grafton about practical ends of classical readings, among others. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton’s study about how Gabriel Harvey and Philip Sydney read Livy, according to Harvey’s marginal notes, which emphasized parallels to actual political needs, has contributed to building up a research field in intellectual history concerned with the transfer of knowledge through *marginalia*.<sup>5</sup>

William Sherman centres his book *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* on two cases of readers’ marking.<sup>6</sup> In his first case study, Sherman presents the polymath John Dee who annotated a copy of Ferdinand Columbus’ biography of Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand’s father.<sup>7</sup> The marginal notes clarify that Dee had certain interests concerning Ferdinand’s use of medieval and classical sources and that Dee furthermore had the idea that Welsh boats had already visited America three hundred years before Columbus as he annotated certain words in Native American language that sounded similar to Welsh pronunciations.

Sherman’s second case examine additions to a topical index that Julius Cesar (Adelmare) prepared for one of his books, John Foxe’s *Pandectae locorum communium*, published in 1572.<sup>8</sup> To record citations important for him, Julius Cesar wrote them all into a large commonplace book that was printed with prepared topoi—headers and blank pages. He added some headers of his own, as for example *Alchymia* and *Ars Cabbalistica* next to *Curiositas* and *Curiosae Artes*, to converge with his own interests. On the blank page underneath the headers, he filled in his findings that he had read in other books.

This learned technique of taking notes has been investigated very lately on a broad scale, covering early modern Europe. Ann Blair’s book *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (2010) analyses

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5 Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy,” *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78.

6 Sherman, *Used Books*.

7 *Ibid.*, 113–26.

8 *Ibid.*, 127–48.

learned methods of note taking and organizing knowledge.<sup>9</sup> She suggests that the flood of publications and printed knowledge from the sixteenth century led to enhanced methods, which had the ability to store knowledge and helped its retrieval later on. In the long run, these needs to organize, store, and find information resulted in complex book annotation systems, individual as well as standardized, of which the modern file card catalogue is only one instance.

Didactic novelties of the late medieval period and the early modern period, developed and used in Latin schools and institutes of higher education, were always connected to the spread of Humanism in Europe. In their studies of the period of transition, the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, in their book *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* elaborate Erasmus's and Petrus Ramus's key role in formulating new humanist-based methods for schools and institutes of higher education in the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

But what is unclear is the effect of the split of confessions in the first half of the sixteenth century on developments in teaching and instruction. Since the schools and institutes of higher education usually depended on their territorial church authorities, the confession played a role in the school's identity. This might have been revealed by the use of confessionally fashioned textbooks and also by using other didactic means, for example, different methods of reading the Bible. Unfortunately, the role of the confessions for teaching has been little researched. Such questions as Howard Hotson has raised about correlations between Ramism and Calvinism show, however, that there might be no consistent or coordinated connections between method and confession until almost the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

In his study on the Strasbourg *Gymnasium Illustre* (1977), Anton Schindling describes two very influential ways of teaching the *artes liberales* in higher education in the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding Johannes Sturm's individual invention of a *methodus Sturmiana*, a mixture of rhetoric and dialectic that was supposed to lead the students in the upper classes to express their thoughts with clarity and consistency and to debate arguments with strength,

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9 Blair, *Too Much to Know*. Pioneer in the research of commonplace was Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

10 Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities. Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 122–210.

11 Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, 16–25, with the arrival of post-Ramist methods in reformed universities, 1590–1613 (127–65).

there are formal ways of instruction that Sturm's Gymnasium shared with other institutions of his time.<sup>12</sup> The first is the so-called commonplace method of *loci communes*, the practice of filling notebooks with extracted quotations, often organized under headers or with a keyword system. According to his 1538 ideal curriculum (see fig. 10), Johannes Sturm introduced this technique to his students as early as the third class of the Latin school.<sup>13</sup> Printed commonplace books, compiled by students of Sturm and later used in as textbooks at Strasbourg, show that this method had a certain impact not only on the recording practices of the young boys but also as a tool to abbreviate and organize useful knowledge. This method was carried on by the students once they left school and dedicated themselves to writing and to more advanced studies.<sup>14</sup>

Schindling does not go into details, but another method was also used. New research shows that Sturm and his assistant teachers at Strasbourg, Martin Crusius and Michael Toxites, used the so-called *lemmata*-method—one that was very common among scholars to teach classical texts—to explain classical readings to their students.<sup>15</sup> This method relied on explanatory notes that were often dictated in class. These referred to each keyword (lemma), and explained the meaning of the word in the context of its place in a sentence. Lemmata explanations are small commentaries referring to single words and sentences.

Theodor Bibliander, at the time professor of theology at the Zurich Lectorium, who was teaching more advanced classes than those in which Sturm used his Lemmata explanations, published a book using a similar method to explicate texts of the biblical Old Testament. We can take the example of

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- 12 Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*, 163–64, 168–70. New observations about Sturm and his rhetoric-based pedagogy are included in the anniversary edition: Matthieu Arnold, ed., *Johannes Sturm (1507–1589)*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation, 46 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009), 109–338, especially articles by Kees Meerhoff, Alexandra Trachsel, Olivier Millet, Philippe Büttgen, Loïc Chalmel, Édouard Mehl, Robert Weeda, Anja-Silvia Goeing [Göing], Anton Schindling, Zdzisław Pietrzyk, Martin Holý, and Martin Klöcker (see bibliography for full data set). See Johannes Sturm, *De Literarum Ludis recte aperiendis* (Strasbourg: Rihel 1543), f. 10v: “Optimus sermo est qui habet prudentiam, ordinem, verecundiam.”
  - 13 English translation in Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1995), 91; here read: Johannes Sturm, *De Literarum Ludis*, ff. 20v–21r.
  - 14 For example, Valentin Erythraeus, *Dialecticarum Ioannis Sturmij: una cum praecipuorum locorum explicatione, addita cum ex ipsius Authoris annotationibus: tum ex ipso Aristotele: alijsque eius artis melioribus scriptoribus* (Strasbourg, 1551).
  - 15 Anja-Silvia Goeing, “Martin Crusius' Verwendung.”

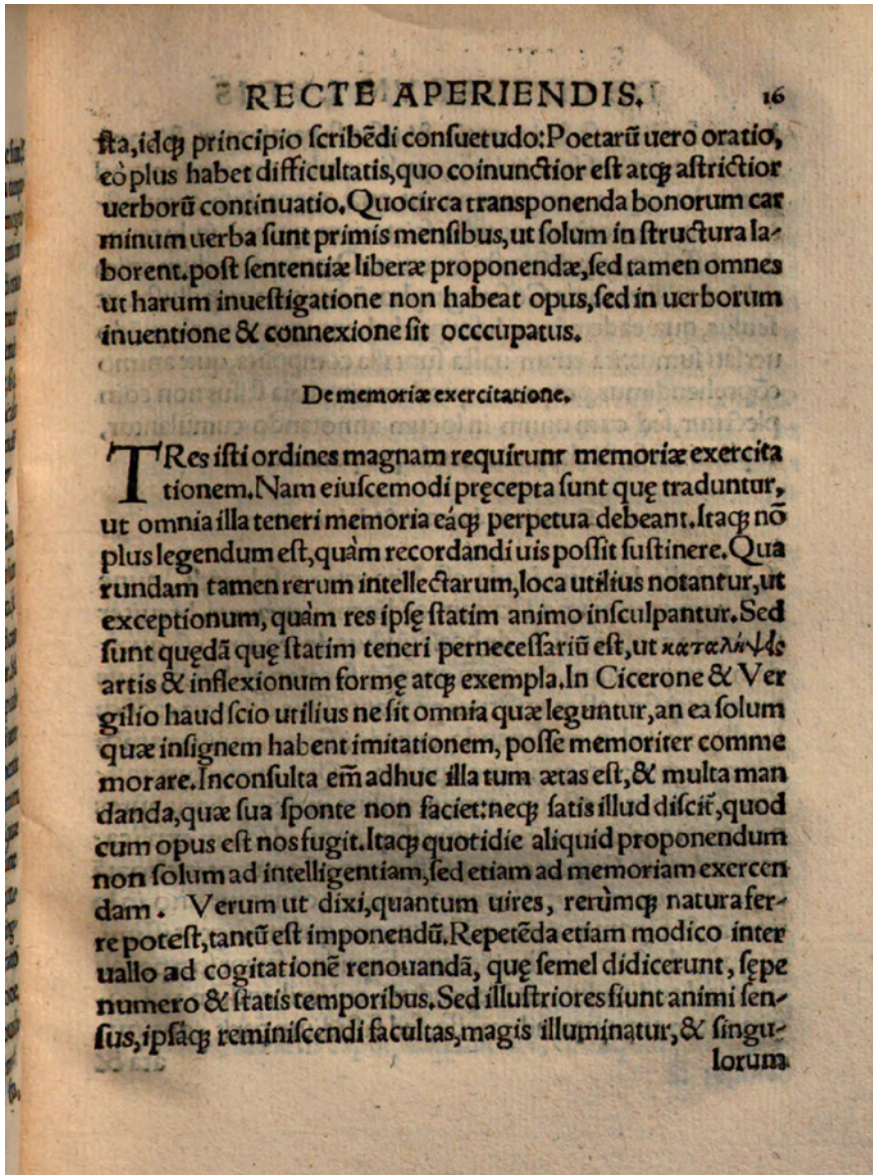


FIGURE 10 Johannes Sturm: *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* liber (Strasbourg: Rihel, 1538), detail (f. 16r): *On exercising the memory*. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Rw 538# (Beibd. 3; urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb1121990-3).

Bibliander's early textbook about the biblical prophecies of Nahum.<sup>16</sup> He explains the text by comparing, side by side, two translations of the text from Hebrew into Latin, one by the church father Jerome that was in common use at that time, and the other that was his own translation. In his edition, Bibliander placed his explication after the text, which provided a historical context, summarized the content, and pointed out the main characters. Using the technique of lemmata editions, he then explained the text sentence-by-sentence to his students. His comments to the biblical text dealt either with individual words in a sentence or with the sentence as a whole.

A short comparison between Bibliander's and Sturm's methods explains their similarities. Sturm used to dictate his sentence commentary. One of Sturm's dictations on Vergil's *Bucolica* was published by one of his students, Martin Crusius, who at the same time that he took the notes was also assistant teacher at Strasbourg.<sup>17</sup> A comparison of the two editions shows that Bibliander and Sturm both used lemmata to explain text methodically.

Textbook authors employed other methods apart from the use of lemmata and the collection of loci to facilitate learning. These included commentaries in the form of narratives as well as traditional and humanist colloquia and catechistic books, both of which took the form of dialogues between teachers and students. These methods constituted the common ground of premodern education in institutes of lower and higher public education in the Holy Roman Empire, France, and Italy, regardless of which confession the schools belonged to.

Presentations were also part of learning. Since the students at Strasbourg were supposed to become well-developed orators by the end of their course after nine to ten years of school, they were taught to produce speeches and other writings according to what they read and analysed at school. For moral

16 Theodor Bibliander, *Propheta Nahum iuxta veritatem Hebraicam / Latine redditus per Theodorum Bibliandrum, adiecta exegesi, qua versionis ratio redditur & authoris divini sententia explicatur* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1534). For Bibliander's manuscript notes cf. Theodor Bibliander, "Exegesis of Nahum," ZB Zurich, MS Car I 87, ff. 159v–162r; 233v–236v. Literature see Christine Christ-von Wedel, "Die biblisch-exegetische Theologie Theodor Biblianders," in Christine Christ-von Wedel, ed., *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564). Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005), 125–38, 165–67; and Bruce Gordon, "Christo testimonium reddunt omnes scripturae: Theodor Bibliander's Oration on Isaiah (1532) and Commentary on Nahum (1534)," in Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*, 107–42.

17 Goeing, "Martin Crusius' Verwendung." After Strasbourg, Crusius went on to become a professor at Tübingen, where he had his own students in rhetoric.

education and for the study of classical languages, other students performed theatre plays, not only in Jesuit schools, but also, for example, in Zurich, where the professor of Greek, Rudolph Collinus, taught and translated ancient Greek tragedies and comedies. In the Swiss neighbouring town of Fribourg, where the Jesuit college of St. Michel was established in 1582, annual Jesuit drama plays were held, presented on stage by students of the college.<sup>18</sup>

All over Europe, semi-public presentations for more advanced students included the disputation about a given topic, propagated in exemplary form by Philip Melanchthon in Wittenberg.<sup>19</sup> Learning natural philosophy partly functioned according to similar rhetorical methods: texts were clarified and commented on and arguments were analysed for validity. Scattered studies, such as that by Cynthia Klestinec on instruction in the Anatomy Theater in Renaissance Padua, suggest that at a few places, experimental and observational practices also formed part of the lectures.<sup>20</sup> Zurich had two methodological singularities over other schools, the experimenta, weekly controlled compositions, and later the ex-temporanea, ad-hoc translations from German into Latin, which were intended to foster Latin style rather than cultivate creative writing.

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Research about didactic innovations in the sixteenth century tends to connect the culture of learning with the history of the book and the new opportunities provided by the printing press. Textbooks were connected to three developments: the growth of the printing press, the emergence of the public sphere, and the establishments of schools. Printed textbooks increased in importance. At times, as in England, the share of earnings from their sale contributed to the salary of the teacher, as the contracts of John Palgrave (1523) and William Horman (1519) with the London printer Richard Pynson for the making and

18 Cf. Joseph Ehret, *Das Jesuitentheater zu Freiburg in der Schweiz: 1. Teil: Die äussere Geschichte der Herbstspiele von 1580 bis 1700, mit einer Übersicht über das Schweizerische Jesuitentheater* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1921).

19 Cf. Marcel Niden: *Die Erfindung des Theologen: Wittenberger Anweisungen zum Theologiestudium im Zeitalter von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation; N.R. 28 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006; Neuendettelsau, Habil.-Schr., 2004), 53–59.

20 Cynthia Klestinec, "Civility, Comportment, and the Anatomy Theater: Girolamo Fabrici and His Medical Students in Renaissance Padua," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 2, 434–63.



selling of grammatical textbooks suggest.<sup>21</sup> In his article, "Textbooks and Their Uses—An Insight into the Teaching of Geography in 16th Century Zurich," Urs Leu has discovered that about thirteen percent of the entire book production in sixteenth-century Zurich was dedicated to school use or pedagogical themes, most of them concerning theological topics.<sup>22</sup> Literature, languages—including dictionaries—and natural history textbooks were also produced in Zurich.

A variety of different sources provide information about the use of textbooks in Zurich instruction: school regulations, school minutes, library catalogues, dedication letters in books and teaching manuscripts kept in the library. In the cases of Theodor Bibliander, who was professor of theology until 1560, and Conrad Gessner, the professor of natural history, many manuscripts survive that were part of class instruction, preparative writings as well as notes that were taken by students during class. Bibliander's lectures about the Old Testament that he held from 1532 to 1560 are preserved among many different student notes while Gessner left his own preparatory scripts to his student and successor, Caspar Wolf, who then published them in 1586, long after Gessner's death. Twenty-one years after Gessner's death, his instruction was neither forgotten nor antiquated. In Gessner's case, we even have a textbook that he produced for the subject *De Anima*, as well as other publications, including the illustrated encyclopaedias of *Historia Animalium* that he reportedly also used in class. The surviving sources reveal that Gessner's class instruction used a wealth of different approaches.

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21 Frederick James Furnivall, *Pynson's Contracts with Horman for his Vulgaria, and Palsgrave for his Lesclaircissement, with Pynson's Letter of Denization* (London: s.n., 1868).

22 Urs B. Leu, "Textbooks and Their Uses—An Insight into the Teaching of Geography in Sixteenth Century Zurich," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, 229–33.

## Content and Significance of Teaching in the Zurich Lectorium

It is important to know how teachers and students used their books in Zurich. The course of instruction is alluded to in the school regulations and is also mentioned in the minutes, but there is no continuous narration of what was read in class; the minutes give only occasional information. It is hard to know what students learned because the school minutes fail to reveal what readings served as the basis for the exams. Where the content of the exams was treated, it was adapted to the individual situation of the student. As the administrative director recorded, Petrus Bachofen was examined on 28 January 1579, in the Ciceronian oration *Pro Lege Manilius* that he had heard while a student at Basel, together with Euripides and one or two questions in dialectic. He did not do well.<sup>1</sup> The only exam work of a student that is preserved in the minutes is a work by the student Michael Brüw, written on 21 October 1580.<sup>2</sup> It is a so-called *ex-tempore* translation from German into Latin. This exam was inserted on the original paper into the school minutes by school administrative director Ludwig Lavater. The paper served as proof that the boy, who had been examined, did especially poorly; it therefore does not show how an exam like this should be completed. The boy had annoyed the teachers because he repeatedly disobeyed the rules. Because of his bad exam, the decision was made that he should leave the school.

We do not find any models for good school work in the sixteenth century in Zurich. It is only at the beginning of the seventeenth century that passing the final exams was documented by printing student disputations. One of the first printed exam disputations that is accessible today is from the theology student Johannes Brunner. His *Disputatio theologicæ de divina providentia*, examined under the presidency of Johann Jacob Breitingger (1575–1645), was printed in 1611 at Zurich.<sup>3</sup>

According to the regulations, the Zurich Lectorium curriculum had no mathematics, no jurisprudence, but almost daily studies of the Bible—especially

1 StAZ E II 478, 255r–96 to 255v–97.

2 StAZ E II 478, 337r.

3 Johann Jacob Breitingger and Johannes Brunner, *Disputatio theologicæ de divina providentia, quam ... sub praesidio Johanne Jacobi Breitingeri; examinandam sistit Johannes Rodolphus Brunnerus* (Zurich: Wolph, 1611).

of the Old Testament—and a concentration on the three languages Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. There was a focus in the lectorium on more advanced studies in Latin and Greek, containing not vocabulary and grammar like in the Latin schools, but rhetoric and a little dialectic, like in the upper classes of Sturm's Gymnasium. Greek oration was also taught, Bible studies and drama in Greek, and an introduction to Aristotelian physics and ethics, mostly in Latin, although the latter was not mentioned after 1563. When the students passed their last exam, they knew a bit about all of the subjects, spoke Latin, and were able to write reasonably good Latin letter prose; they were members of the community of erudite scholars in Europe and were able to explain the Bible. This was enough for the church to hand over parishes in the rural parts of Zürich to some of them.

The school regulations list part of the literature read in both Latin schools, but not the literature read in the lectorium. The latter was left to the choice of the individual professors. The school regulations prescribed a number of works for reading in the Latin schools. The catechism was obligatory for all Latin school students in all classes. The traditional manuals that served to teach Latin—Donatus and the proverbs of Cato—were not omitted, but they were modified. The Donatus was abridged and a commentary by Glarean was added; the Cato was read only in Latin, and not with its German translation. The third class read a choice of Cicero letters edited by Johannes Sturm, as well as the *Eclogues* by Virgil; in the fourth class, the students began to read the Greek Old Testament. The fifth class read similar works, such as those by the orator Aphthonius or *De Copia* by Erasmus.

Occasionally, the minutes supplement this list, for example, inserting short notices, in which methods of teaching were sometimes discussed. On 24 April 1561, Gessner was ordered to read *Carpentarius* in the lectorium.<sup>4</sup> Ten students were ordered to go into his class to listen to this lecture. It remains unclear if this note refers to the description of the universal nature, written by Jacobus Carpentarius (1560), or to a text about the martyrdom of Georg Carpentarius in Munich 1527—I am assuming the former which fits into Gessner's general interest in Aristotelian physics.<sup>5</sup>

Similar details were sometimes revealed when a new professor was introduced. After Peter Martyr Vermigli's death, in 1563, the minister at the

4 StAZ, E II 458, 19v.

5 See also Goeing, "Storing to Know," 271, 425; and Leu, *Conrad Gessner*, 100n381. Jacobus Carpentarius, *Descriptionis universae naturae, ex Aristotelis pars prior. In quatuor libros distincta et scholiis illustrata* (Paris, 1560); Georg Carpentarius, *Geschichte des Märtyrertodes des Georg Carpentarius, welcher um des Evangeliums willen zu München lebendig verbrannt wurde, den 8. Hornung 1527* (s.l., n.d.).

Fraumünster church Johannes Wolf was told to give lectures in theology taking turns alternating week by week with Josias Simmler, also in the lectorium. Wolf began with the Book of Kings from the Old Testament, where Vermigli had stopped due to his untimely death. On Saturday of this first week, Josias Simmler then taught the *loci communes* that he had extracted from Deuteronomy.<sup>6</sup>

In 1564, a list of authors was put together as advice for readings in the Latin schools: among them are orations by Isocrates and Hesiod, the authors Cicero and Caesar, the *Georgics* by Virgil, Horace, and Cicero's *De Senectute Amicitia, Pro Archia*, and *Paradoxia*, all of which were to be read in the highest class by the schoolmaster.<sup>7</sup> In the lectures of the provisor, who taught the lower fourth grade, students were advised to read the Greek Old Testament, Sallust, Cicero, Virgil, and the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid. Other readings that were generally mentioned included Terence, the *Grammar* by Philip Melanchthon, Cameraarius, Myrillus, and the beginners' Latin grammar by Donatus with commentary by Glarean. The list of readings for the Latin schools shows that next to the Greek Old Testament students read mainly authors in Latin, with a focus on oration. The readings for lectures are unsurprising and can be found in many European gymnasia.

Readings for the lectorium were rarely discussed: the next entry after the mention of Gessner reading Carpentarius and the succession after Vermigli's death in 1563 was only on 13 April 1567, on the occasion of the yearly *Censura*.<sup>8</sup>

So wudent ouch die Lectiones so man // uff den Jar publici läsen solt, also  
be // namset. //

D. Simlerus solt furfaren In Genesi //

D. Volphus in Esdra //

D. Zuinglius solt anfahen epistulam D. Pauli ad Titum. //

D. Lemannus solt anfahen Grammaticam He // bream Heinrichi Uranij  
quam autor // [...] //

D. Ammianus solt Dialect. Willichij anfa // hen //

D. Collinus Im Plutarcho vitam Marci // Crassi. //

D.D. Cellarius solt anfahen Liebleri Libel. // de Anima // D D Vuolphius,  
de Coelo et Mundo seu // Meteoris. //

6 StAZ, E II 458, 45v.

7 StAZ, E II 458, 71r–v. See Appendix 10 for contextual information.

8 StAZ, E II 458, 74.90r.

The presence on the list of an author, such as the Tübingen professor Georg Liebler, reveals strong links to the kind of physics read at the University of Tübingen within the circle of Schegk, who was much admired by Gessner.<sup>9</sup> Choosing his work to introduce Aristotle's *De Anima*, reveals a positive commitment towards Aristotle's text and to the investigation of human anatomy. Liebler was read in many Protestant universities. In April 1570 though, the newly elected administrative director Caspar Wolf, who was teaching Aristotle's *Physics* himself, wrote about his colleague Georg Keller teaching Liebler's *De Anima*:

Witer als herr doctor Keller bijßhar ex Liebleri compendio // De Anima geläsen, und aber das selbig nütt sonderlich den // knaben gedienet, diewil sij der anfängen der Physica // nütt bericht hettind, hat er im fürgnommen das klein [ ... ] // Prosterij compendium in zedictieren, und zeexpliceren, also [ ... ] // ein Jars den Cursum us horen mochtind. Welliche // anzug minen herren wolgefallen und besteten worden. //<sup>10</sup>

Wolf required Keller to replace Liebler's interpretation of *De Anima* with a more general course about physics. He therefore wanted students to start with an overview by reading a different part of Liebler's compendium with the students, "Prosteriis compendium." This reading might refer to the second (posterior) two books of Aristotle's *De Coelo* compiled by the same author Liebler, which talk about the four elements, the material basis of natural philosophy.<sup>11</sup> Wolf's description represented one of the rare occasions where the minutes reveal details about teaching methods. Reading was explicitly defined as dictating and explaining—no one other than the professor would own the textbook. Taking a year to read Liebler's twenty pages would suggest that Keller was assumed to also teach the original Aristotle text and other materials on the side which he thought were helpful to explain the matter to the students.

The aging and death of the professor for rhetoric and dialectic Hans-Jacob Ammann between 1568 and 1574 raised problems about instruction, which were addressed in the minutes. These reveal a reshaping of the curriculum. In 1568, Wilhelm Stucki had to help the aging Ammann. He took over the reading of the *Praecepta Dialectices* by Jodocus Willich with the students

9 The reading might be referring to a part of Georg Liebler, *Epitome philosophiae naturalis, ex Aristotelis summi Philosophi libris ita excerpta, ut eorum summas breuiter & dilucidè explicet, et ad eosdem cum fructu legendos praeparare studiosos possit* (Basel: Oporin, 1561; further editions 1563, 1564, 1566, 1573, 1575, 1586, 1589, 1594, 1596).

10 StAZ, E II 458, 118av (12 April 1570).

11 Georg Liebler, *Epitome philosophiae naturalis*, 136–56.

while Hans-Jacob Ammann was limited to teaching Cicero's *Tusculans*.<sup>12</sup> The next entry is from 28 April 1574, when the Latin course was reorganized after Ammann's death:

Erstlich das M. Hans // Jacob Fries, Professor Dialect. und Rhetorices, an statt ge=// nanten herrens Hansen Jacoben Ammans, alter schul=// herrens, näbet einer andenlichen stund, haben // sölle die nechst stund nach der Theologischen Lection, // wetens ueteris teff. und in der selbigen sölle er vier tag in // der wochen, als namlich den Montag, zinstag, Mitt=// wochen und donstag, sinen auditoribus wyter läsen ein // sömlichen authoren, welichen die verordneten zur leer, // im alernützisten ie zum zijten syn beduchte, darin ma //[157v] usum Dialectices und Rhetorices zum besten koenne // anzeigen und üben. Und sind zum anfang genam=// set näbet der Dialectica, Officia Ciceronis, darumb das // man in den selbigen hatt Definitiones, Divisiones, // und insonders illustria exempla, der iuget fast dient=// lich. Näbet der Rhetorica, mag man dann das // anderthalb iar läsen, ein orationem Ciceronis, auch // weliche ie zum zijten min herren die verordneten // zu<o>r leer, die nütztist zesin beduchte. Darnach // so vil die auditores belanget, sond sin alle die so // Publici gement werden. Das aber die iungen als // die schwecheren, mitt Lectionibus nütt überladen, // sölle sij das erst iar, der Lection noui Testamenti, // der Physic und Hebraischer sprach, erlaßen werden. // Es sol auch hienäbet gemelter M. Hans // Jacob Fries, die anderen zwen tag, als namlich // den Frytag und Samstag, in exercitio [ ... ], mitt // Declamieren, Dissentieren, und was darzu<o> dienstlich, // mitt allem flyß und ernst (wie man im wol truwet). // wol anlegen. //<sup>13</sup>

Here, too, as in physics four years previously, a reduction of the students' readings took place. The minutes ruled that the students should not be overburdened with lectures once they came into the lectorium. In their first year, the students were no longer required to go to the lectures of New Testament, physics, or Hebrew. In other words, the focus of their instruction lay on the Old Testament, Latin rhetoric and dialectics, and Greek. The readings in dialectics and rhetoric show that the mere basics were read, Cicero's oration and *De officiis*,

12 StAZ, E II 458, 105r. In 1568, for the use of the students of Basel, a copy of Willich's dialectic came out at Oporin: Jodocus Willich, *Iodoci Willichii Reselliani Erotematum Dialectices Libri III, Quibus accessit Davidis Chytraei de Studio Dialectices recte instituendo Libellus* (Basel: Oporin, 1568).

13 StAZ, E II 458, 157r–157v.

and Willich's *Dialectics*. Thus, the main goal was to train the students to use rhetoric and dialectics, not to discuss these subjects in a more theoretical way, which would have required them to read more than one secondary source.

The teaching of theology had developed in a number of stages since its beginnings under Huldrych Zwingli in 1523. First, under Zwingli, the Grossmünster choir was used as a place where passages from the Old Testament were simultaneously cross-translated between the traditional languages of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin before they were finally brought into German. These biblical classes with their philological foundations were publicly accessible.

From the beginning of the Zurich Reformation, the New Testament was translated into German and interpreted in the Fraumünster church. From 1533, lecture transcripts have survived in the Zurich Central Library. They cover the theological lectures of Theodor Bibliander. From this time on, commentaries on the Bible were not confined to pure translation but required the explanation of the Bible in Latin. An early biblical commentary even found its way into print: Bibliander wrote a detailed explanation about the prophecy of Nahum and published it in 1534.<sup>14</sup> A comparison with other commentaries brings to light that Bibliander used a format that was used for classical literature rather than for philosophical commentary work. This consisted of the careful and comparative text edition of the two translations side by side, the historical introduction, and finally, the lemmata commentary on words and sentences that remain very close to the original text.

The lecture transcripts that Rudolf Gwalther and Heinrich Bullinger wrote down from the lectures of Theodor Bibliander explain how to treat the biblical stories, as for example, whether to read the Old Testament from the first to the last page, one book after the other in succession. But they also shed light on how the teachers explained the biblical narrations and made them accessible to the students. Bullinger's transcripts show that Bibliander did not always speak Latin in class. He also used a mixture of German and Latin that was caught and written down by the transcriber: "Voluit [Nabuchod.] eos [Daniel et soc.] adhuc doceri das // sij schrijven unn lesen ouch // reden köndint chaldeisch // Hoc exemplum imitandum nobis ut discamus. //."<sup>15</sup>

Bibliander's commentary was consecutive, which means that probably one paragraph of the biblical text was dictated, followed by a commentary.

14 Bibliander, *Propheta Nahum iuxta veritatem Hebraicam / Latine redditus per Theodorum Bibliandrum*.

15 ZB Zurich MS Car. I 147, 3v. See also my article "Schulausbildung im Kontext der Bibel: Heinrich Bullingers Auslegung des Propheten Daniel." More information on transcripts of Bibliander's lectures in Ch. 8.

Transcribing this dictation was homework and was monitored by the teachers. This means that every student produced a consecutive manuscript with lecture transcripts of the Bible. Unfortunately, only single transcripts have survived so we cannot compare a bundle of different students transcripts to recover what was actually said and how the students interacted with the lecture.

In 1578, Friess complained that some students were lazy and did not produce the lecture transcripts in the format he wanted to see. This means that, when in the theological lectures, although contents might have changed, the overall method of memorizing did not change much between 1533 and 1578.

Within Bibliander's commentary, terms were given special value. Important terms were emphasized and explained, by putting the word "Topos" or "Locus" in the margins. In his expositions on Daniel, published in 1565, but written twenty years before that, Heinrich Bullinger started with a discussion of the term "sapientia," wisdom. He referred to this term as the first important commonplace (*locus*): "Primus locus quem Daniel tractat est sapientia."<sup>16</sup> It can justifiably be assumed that these *Loci* were transferred by the students in commonplace collections or so-called commonplace books. Such books do not survive in Zurich, as an examination of the papers of Bullinger and Rudolf Gwalther that are kept in the Zurich Central Library shows. However, the surviving *Loci* can be found in transcripts of lectures.

The only *loci* collection of theological commonplaces ever published in Zurich was compiled from notes by Peter Martyr Vermigli, who taught at Zurich from 1556 to his death in 1562. His *Loci* were posthumously published in London (1576 and 1583) and Zurich (1580 and 1587). The editions of 1580, 1583, and 1587 have a preface by the Zurich *antistes* Rudolf Gwalther. Vermigli extracted his *Loci* from the Bible. He divided his elaborate comments on them systematically into four sections: knowledge about God, about the failure of mankind, about the *ratio* of God, as for example predestination, and about the church as *spiritus sanctus*.<sup>17</sup> Vermigli does not use Bullinger's "sapientia"

16 Bullinger, *Daniel sapientissimus dei Propheta*, 2v.

17 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci Communes* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1580; later ed. London 1583 and Zurich 1587). A slightly differing first edition came out in Lond in 1576. For more information on the idea of *Loci communes* in Vermigli's theological writing see Frank A. James III, Pietro Martire Vermigli, *Predestination and Justification: Two Theological Loci*, translated and edited with introduction and notes by Frank A. James III. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 68 (Kirkville, Mo: Truman States University Press, 2003); and Irena Backus, "Loci communes oder 'Hauptsätze': ein Medium der europäischen Reformation bei Calvin, Vermigli und Bullinger," *Calvinismus: die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa*, ed. Ansgar Reiss et al. (Dresden: Sandstein, 2009), 97–103.



as a *locus*, offering students a different framework in which to interpret the Bible.

Every year a certain number of students from both schools that had taken the exams to advance into the lectorium received the offer to go to foreign universities with a scholarship. There they improved their Latin, studied subjects, such as mathematics and Hebrew, that were not offered or offered only at an elementary level in Zurich. In addition, they studied rhetoric, learning to talk eloquently, and writing in Latin. The students often worked with humanists at other universities who were well known to the Zurich professors, such as Thomas Erastus at Heidelberg or Philip Melanchthon at Wittenberg. Students had table- or bed-places with the family of the foreign teacher and were thus very intensively introduced into the world of the scholar. Christine Christ-von Wedel helpfully pointed out to me that there might have been very affectionate bonds between students and teachers, especially because of the private environment the students were admitted to. Although this remains speculation, there are some hints that emphasize this point: the letters of Bibliander and Myconius, to present an early example, or the way that the students chose their later wives. Some of them went on to marry the daughters of their teachers, a fact that leads to questions about intimacy and friendship in the school.

When the students returned to Zurich to prepare for their final exam, they were not only taught in Zurich, but also brought readings that the foreign humanists had read with them. As we have seen, the exams had to be tailored to fit the individual readings. The curriculum of the Zurich Lectorium relevant for the exams was therefore more than the school offered; it was part of the *res publica literaria*, the republic of letters, and the students had a lively part in the exchange with other spheres of knowledge. At the same time, however, in Zurich itself there were simplifications in all subjects which were introduced subsequent to the new regulations of 1559. They emphasized a rather abbreviated corpus of works to study.

## Practices of Collecting and Organizing Knowledge

Although there were innovations in the organization of school administrative records, notably in new practices such as indexing in 1580, a first glance at textbooks produced by Zurich professors in the same period seems to reinforce the prevailing orthodoxy that what was happening in Zurich was not innovative. I will assess the validity of this hypothesis by examining two different bodies of teaching materials, Hebrew texts and a textbook of Aristotelian physics.

From its inception, the seminary centred teaching on the learning of the three biblical languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Guides to Hebrew grammar for complete beginners were written from 1525 onwards. What kinds of textbooks were used to teach Hebrew? The second group of teaching materials was gathered a little bit later by the second generation of teachers at the Zurich seminary. In 1563, Conrad Gessner, the famous town physician and professor at the Zurich seminary, wrote a textbook to teach Aristotelian physics in this institution.

### Hebrew

Studies on the teaching of Hebrew show that between 1525 and 1555 there were three distinct approaches to learning the language. All three were connected to different professors. Jacobus Ceperinus (1500–1525) was the first to be hired by Huldrych Zwingli himself, to explain the Greek and Hebrew Old Testament. He died young, in 1525, and left a 1522 published Greek grammar (published again in 1526 and later), but he did not publish any Hebrew grammar.<sup>1</sup> However, he had written, and possibly even taught from his own version of a Hebrew grammar manuscript (see fig. 11), as I will explain later. Konrad Pellicanus (1478–1556) taught Hebrew and Theology at the University of Tübingen before he was hired in 1532 at the Zurich Lectorium as a professor for the Hebrew Old

<sup>1</sup> See, for Ceperinus, Emil Egli, “Ceperins Leben und Schriften,” in Egli 1901, 145–60; Christoph Riedweg, “Ein Philologe an Zwinglis Seite. Zum 500. Geburtstag des Zürcher Humanisten Jacob Wiesendanger, gen. Ceperinus (1500–1525),” in *Museum Helveticum. Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 57, 2000, special edition: 201–19. Jacob Ceperinus, *Compendium Grammaticae Graecae*, Basel 1522 (and with different locations several later editions, see EGLI 1901, 157).

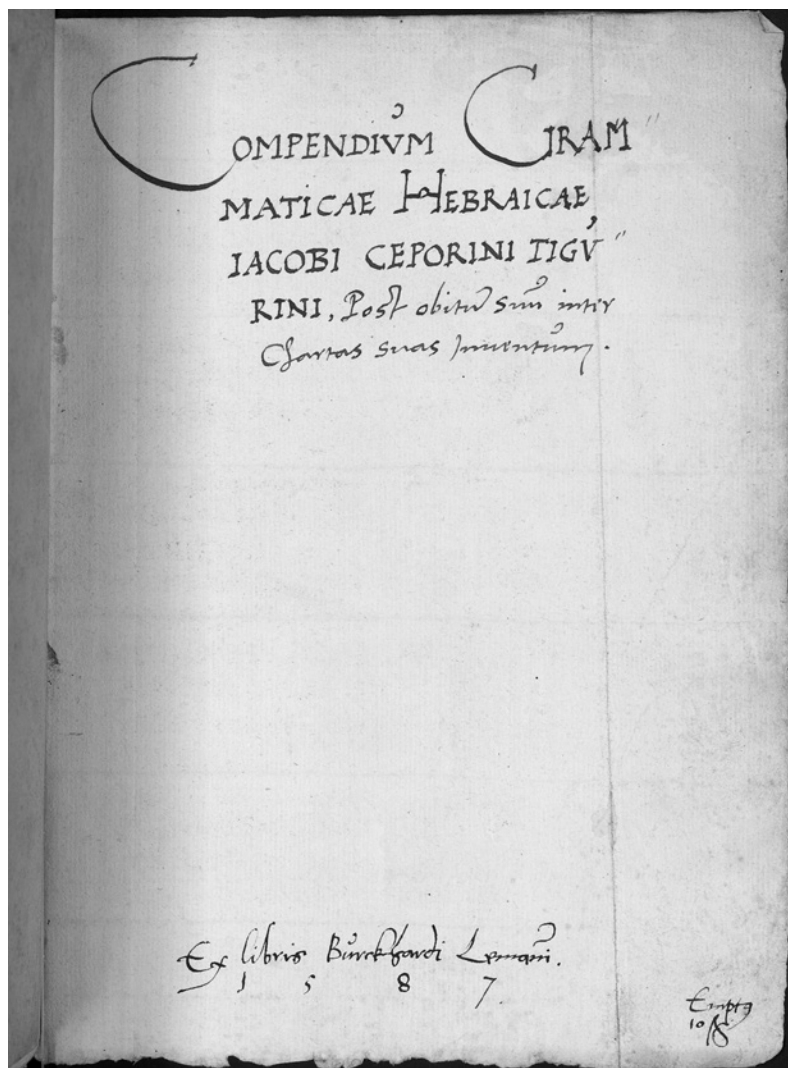


FIGURE 11 Jacob Ceporinus, "Compendium Grammaticae Hebraicae Iacobi Ceporini Tigvrini, Post obitum suum inter Chartas suas inventum. Ex libris Burckhardi Lemanni. 1587," Title page

ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK ZÜRICH, MSC. D 59, 92r.

Testament. In 1504, he had published a Hebrew grammar in an old fashioned rhetoric-based style (Strasbourg, 1504).<sup>2</sup> In Zurich, many of his publications

<sup>2</sup> Konrad Pellicanus, "De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum," in Gregor Reisch, *Aepitoma omnis phylosophiae, alias, Margarita phylosophica: tractans de omni genere scibili cum additionibus qu[a]e in alijs non habentur* (Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1504), F8v–F28r.

and manuscript lectures on the Hebrew Bible are still preserved at the Zurich Central Library, as part of the old Canon Library of the Grossmünster Stift. They attest to his many strategies in seeking to explain to students the Hebrew Bible in all its features. However, there is no trace of Pellicanus's Hebrew grammar being used in the sixteenth-century lectorium. On the contrary, the only exemplar of Pellicanus's published grammar that has survived in the libraries and archives of Zurich was acquired in the late seventeenth century.

Later in his life, Pellicanus was in charge of the library organization himself, and his organization modes became famous because they formed the basis for later methods that Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), one of his pupils, used in his encyclopaedias, and lastly, affected how Johannes Fries organized the school records in 1580.

Theodor Bibliander (1509–1564), who also produced a Hebrew grammar, was a native of the neighbouring canton Thurgau and pupil of Oswald Myconius at Zurich Latin school, where he studied Hebrew and Greek under Ceporinus and Pellicanus.<sup>3</sup> He became Professor for Greek Old Testament at the Zurich Lectorium in 1532; he substituted for the deceased Huldrych Zwingli because Zwingli's successor in office, Heinrich Bullinger, would not teach himself. Bibliander taught the Bible using not only Greek but also Hebrew expressions as can be traced through the lecture scripts that are kept in the Zurich library.

During the lifetime of Pellicanus, Bibliander wrote a two-volume Hebrew grammar, of which the first part was published in 1535.<sup>4</sup> The second part never reached the press and is stored at the Zurich Central Library among the manuscripts of the old Canon Library.<sup>5</sup> Part 1 may have been used as teaching material for a short while. After 1560, when Bibliander fell from grace because of fights he had with Peter Martyr Vermigli over the interpretation of the Bible,

3 Cf. Christine Christ-von Wedel, ed., *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564). Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005).

4 Theodor Bibliander, *Institutionum Grammaticarum de Lingua Hebraea liber unus* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1535). See also his commentary on Hebrew language: Theodor Bibliander, *De optimo Genere Grammaticorum Hebraicorum, Commentarius* (Basel, 1542) and his philosophy of languages: Theodor Bibliander: *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius Theodori Bibliandri. Cui adnexa est compendiarie explicatio doctrinae recte beateque uiuendi, et religionis omnium gentium atque populorum, quam argumentum hoc postulare uidebatur* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1548). See Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Establishing Modes of Learning: Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the 16th Century," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, 157–82.

5 Central Library Zurich, MS Car 1 296. *Theodori Bibliandri Grammaticae Hebraicae fragmenta. Eiusd. de pond. et mensuris Hebraeorum libellus*. 280 fols.

it was no longer used. Bibliander's writings were generally suppressed, and the Hebrew grammar, as innocent as it might seem, was part of his philosophy of languages and belief. These lived on only with his old students, such as Heinrich Bullinger, the successor of Huldrych Zwingli in 1532 in the office of preacher and unofficial head of the Zurich church. Bullinger alluded to Bibliander's writings, for example, in his Daniel expositions of 1565, without citing him by name.<sup>6</sup>

Jacobus Ceperinus had left a Hebrew grammar manuscript that was later copied by Burkhard Leemann (1531–1613), a student of the Grossmünster Stift, who used the manuscript beginning in 1560 for teaching students himself.<sup>7</sup> The school administration had decided in 1560 that advanced students of the Grossmünster Stift should take turns teaching Hebrew grammar for a salary comparable to an extended scholarship. The manuscript is bound in a miscellaneous folder together with other fragmentary teaching material and kept at the Zurich library. From the 1560s, lecturers, the first of whom was the student Burkhard Leemann, taught the language using an abridged version of the Ceperinus grammar.

The next published Hebrew grammar appeared in the context of the Zurich Lectorium in 1610. The Zurich orientalist and Theology professor of the next generation Kaspar Waser (1565–1625), published his Hebrew grammar as an abbreviated version of the Hebrew grammar in use at Basel University.<sup>8</sup>

The history of Hebrew textbooks in the sixteenth century reveals a decline in the importance of Hebrew as a taught subject at Zurich. It seems that Hebrew and the interpretation of Hebrew scriptures assumed a marginal position from the 1560s onwards: not only was the content of its curriculum decimated but also no regular teacher was appointed to teach Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> Instead, the graduate students took turns teaching the rudiments of Hebrew grammar to

6 See Göing, "Schulausbildung im Kontext der Bibel," pp. 455–57.

7 Jacob Ceperinus, "Compendium Grammaticae Hebraicae Iacobi Ceperini Tigvrini, Post obitum suum inter Chartas suas inventum. Ex libris Burckhardi Lemanni. 1587," in Msc. D 59 (Central Library Zurich), 92r–119r.

8 Kaspar Waser, *Elementale Hebraicum* (Heidelberg: Voegelin, 1612). After that, a later Zurich Hebrew grammar with a comparative orientalist approach was Johann Heinrich Hottinger, et al. *Erotematum Linguae Sanctae*. (Zurich, 1647). See Jan Loop, "Orientalische Philologie und reformierte Theologie. Johann Heinrich Hottinger und das Studium Orientale an den Zürcher Schulen," in *Reformierte Orthodoxie und Aufklärung. Die Zürcher Hohe Schule im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hanspeter Marti, Karin Marti-Weisenbach (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 21–45.

9 Rule in the School Regulations as of 1559/1560. See also *Acta Scholastica*.

the younger classes. This differed from earlier practices at the school. At the beginning, the lectorium, or Prophezei, as Zwingli had christened it, was there to translate the Bible from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin into German and explain its contents. This lasted through the 1530s and 1540s.

However, it would be wrong to conclude that new approaches in Hebrew studies were not developed in the scholarly world in Zurich after 1560. Innovation stemmed in this period from a different source. New approaches came through sending specific students to stay in other European universities to study Hebrew. The *Acta Scholastica* name the following academies and universities as places of study for Zurich students between 1560 and 1580: Augsburg, Basel, Berne, Geneva, Heidelberg, Lausanne, Marburg, Padua, Paris, Strasbourg, Tübingen, and Wittenberg. More generally, the word “England” is given as an additional place of study.<sup>10</sup> Augsburg, Padua, Paris, Strasbourg, Tübingen, and England were different from the other, more regularly frequented study destinations: their selection always reflected the individual talents of the student sent there. In one case involving Johann Wilhelm Stucki (1542–1607), this unusual path had an exceptional outcome: in Tübingen, Paris, and Padua, Stucki concentrated on the Hebrew Language and, after finishing his studies abroad, and holding an interim professorship as Professor of Dialectics at the lectorium in Zurich, was appointed in 1571 professor of the Old Testament.<sup>11</sup> I cite from the records:

Dominus Wilhelmus Stuckius ist kommen ex Italia // von Padua unnd hatt rächenschafft gäben aller // syner handlung namlich was er zu pariß // gestudiert habe in linguis unnd in artibus // Da welle er sich lassen bruchen nach // myner herren gefallen. doch syge er mitt // [Text (B), 105r] mitt grossen kosten ußs Gallia in Italiam gereiset // derhalben bitte er myn herren sy wellindt imme in // gnaden bedencken. Er habe in Italia

- 
- 10 See Anja-Silvia Goeing, “In die Fremde schicken’: Stipendien für Studierende des Zürcher Großmünsterstifts an auswärtige Hochschulen,” in *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten in konfessionsvergleichender Perspektive. Schubwesen, Lesekultur und Wissenschaft*, ed. Heinz Schilling and Stefan Ehrenpreis, Beiheft der Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, 38 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007), 29–46; Karin Maag, “Financing Education, the Zurich Approach, 1550–1620,” in *Reformations Old and New, Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470–1630*, ed. Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 203–16. For details about Swiss students at the University of Heidelberg see Gunnoe Jr., “Swiss students and Faculty at the University of Heidelberg, 1518–1622.”
- 11 *Acta Scholastica*, 104v–105r: *Acta* as of 1 July 1568. *Ibid.*, 121v for 1571. In the year 1569, he is mentioned next to the name of Johann Jacob [Hans-Jacob] Ammann (here: Prof. Logicae) as Professor Dialectices, cf. *ibid.*, 112r.

sich für=// nemlich uff die Hebraisch sprach gäben da er // die Rabiner  
geläsen und mit den Juden con=// versiert. //<sup>12</sup>

After Bibliander had been dismissed in 1560 and Pellicanus had died in 1556, Stucki, a Hebrew specialist, was appointed by the school, church, and town as the theology professor.

If we want to understand the impact of Stucki's Hebrew studies, we need to look beyond his commentaries and to the works he himself wrote. His only published Bible interpretations are editions of unfinished manuscripts that his predecessor, the minister and professor Johannes Wolf, had left when he died, notably one book about the Old-Testament book of Ezra (*Esdras*).<sup>13</sup>

12 [Text (B), 104v] Acta.1. Julij // [1568]

Uff disten tag ist berufft worden dominus Wilhelmus // Stuckius unnd Johannes Franck so beid // ab der frömbde heim kommen. //

Dominus Wilhelmus Stuckius ist kommen ex Italia // von Padua unnd hatt rächen-schafft gäben aller // syner handlung namlich was er zu pariß // gestudiert habe in linguīs unnd in artibus // Da welle er sich lassen bruchen nach // myner herren gefallen. doch syge er mitt // [Text (B), 105r] mitt grossen kosten ußs Gallia in Italiam gereiset // derhalben bitte er myn herren sy wellindt imme in // gnaden bedencken. Er habe in Italia sich für=// nemlich uff die Hebraisch sprach gäben da er // die Rabiner geläsen und mit den Juden con=// versiert. //

Uff söllich syn fürtrag ward ime zu antwort // myne herren hettindt ein besonder gefallen ob // synen flyße doch hettindt sy kein gwallt // deß kostens halber. Zu handeln so bald // man aber die...hette wurde man sy=// nen ingedenck syn. Unnd ward hieruff // geheissen diewyl dominus Ammianus alt und un=// vermögenlich so sölte dominus Stuckius die prae=// cepta Dialectices hora prima läsen Jodoci // Wilichij unnd dominus Ammianus Tusculanas quest. // welliches er hernach trüwlich erstattet hatt. //

"Record. 1 July 1568

On this day, master Wilhelmus Stuckius and Johannes Franck were called in, as both had come home from abroad. Master Wilhelmus Stuckius has arrived from Italy, from Padua, and has given accountability of all of his actions, namely what he studied at Paris in languages and the liberal arts. Now he wants to be used as my lords please. But he travelled with great costs from France to Italy, that is why he asks my lords they would want to think of him in mercy. He has studied in Italy mainly the Hebrew language, he read the Rabbis there and conversed with the Jews. On this his presentation he got the answer, my lords had a special liking regarding his diligence, but they would not have the power in regards to the costs. To be acted upon as soon as the...one would think of him. And then it was decided that since Master Ammianus is old and unfit, Master Stuckius should read the Praecepta Dialectices of Jodocus Wilichius in the first hour and Master Ammianus the Quaestiones Tusculanas, which Stucki then afterwards did faithfully."

13 Johannes Wolf, Johann Wilhelm Stucki, and Heinrich Wolf, *Esdras: in Esdrae librum primum de reditu populi Iudaei e captivitate Babylonica in patriam, et templi reiuepublicae*

Stucki's own compositions, rather than the biblical commentaries, had the appearance of encyclopaedias. His largest published book was a comparative history of not only the ancient Convivium, the last supper, but also of any form of celebration that included guests eating and drinking. The work came out in Zurich in 1582. In it, Stucki used Hebrew fragments in a rather humanistic way, along with other languages, to explain and compare certain terms that occur in the Bible. The analysis of one paragraph reveals his use of the languages:

<Kali Heb. qui> Iam verò quoad ipsa alimenta, quorum hîc fit mentio, primò ponitur קלי Kali, quae vox etiam re-//peritur 2. Regum 17. Leuit. 23. Ruth 2. sine Aleph finali. Rab Solomon, far toste in fornace inter pretatur. Hieronymus polentam vertit. Deriuatur à להק Calah (vnde forsā calidum et cale-//facere) quod est torrere, frigare: vnde etiam קלהח Calachat, id est, caldare. Primò enim tor-//<polenta.> rebant grana, deinde frigebant, postremò coquebant pultem. Polenta est farina tosti frictiue hor-//dei, à polline, vt nonnullis videtur, dicta: cuius variam et multiplicem conficiendae rationem, vi-//de apud Plinium libro 18.c.8.<sup>14</sup>

This paragraph treats the making of food. Stucki reflects on the Hebrew word *Kali*, which can have two meanings, rendered hot or chilled. He hypothesized that the roots of the word were related to Latin words that sounded similar, *calidum* and *calefacere*, and also *caldare*. He cited verses in the Bible where first the grain of the polenta, which he found out to be the flour made of barleycorn, was roasted, then chilled, then finally cooked into a porridge or mush. Polenta as a word derived, according to Stucki, from the Latin “pollen,” finely ground flour, and he cited Pliny, book 18, Chapter 8, for its multiple and various methods of preparation.

Stucki presented all sources possible in their original wording and discussed the Hebrew biblical terms within his taxonomy of different convivia in different historical cultures. He used Hebrew, when he worked on etymology and

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*instaurarione commentariorum Ioannis Vvolphii, sacrarum literarum in Ecclesia Scholaque Tigurina professoris, lib. III: quibus accesserunt eiusdem epistola de certitudine ecclesiae ad quendam magni nominis virum scripta: item de vita & obitu eiusdem narratio* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1584).

- 14 Johann Wilhelm Stucki, ANTIQVITATVM CON=||VIVIALIVM LIBRI III.|| IN QVIBVS HEBRAEO-||RVM, GRAECORVM, ROMANORVM ALIA=||RVMQVE NATIONVM ANTIQVA CONVIVIORVM GENERA,||...explicantur...|| multa || Grammatica, Physica, Medica, Ethica, Oeconomica, Politica, Philso=||sophica...atque Historica...|| tractantur...|| (Zurich: Froschauer, 1582), 55v.



relational theory of terms in different languages. His innovation was to connect encyclopaedic method with a biblical topic and to compare different cultural rites.<sup>15</sup>

### Physics Textbooks in Zurich

Conrad Gessner, who taught physics and ethics at the lectorium beginning in 1541, has long been seen as the Aristotelian compiler par excellence, a man who would not present his own interpretation of physics or ethics but rather accumulated tituli gathered from other writers. This picture has only gradually changed with more detailed research into how he organized his materials and how he made selections.<sup>16</sup> Until his untimely death in 1565, Gessner compiled a large number of reference books. He was the author of many encyclopaedias, including those on the history of animals and stones, translated numerous Greek treatises on medicine to Latin, and compiled name lists with pictures of his encyclopaedia contents, such as his iconography of the animals, where he included translations in different contemporary and classical languages. Paul Nelles and Urs Leu, among others, have taken much effort to explain the methods Gessner used to organize his materials. Both find him using a technique of commonplace organizing that owes, as Nelles explains, its bibliographic roots to Konrad Pellicanus, and as Leu has worked out, in part to Erasmus's *De copia* (1512).<sup>17</sup>

15 Compare the less encyclopedic and more narrative Basel edition: Johannes Gast, *Convivialium Sermonum Liber: Meris Iocis, ac Salibus non impudicis, neque lascivis, sed utilibus et serius refertus...* (Basel: Westheim 1541 and later).

The book has been published in Basel in at least seven editions from 1541 to 1566, first at the publishing house of Bartholomaeus Westheimer in 1541 and 1543, then, in 1548, 1549, 1554, 1561, and 1566, with Nikolaus Brylinger.

16 For the following three paragraphs on Gessner, cf. Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Storing to Know: Conrad Gessner's *De Anima* and Relations Between Textbooks and Citation Collections in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Collectors' Knowledge: What is Kept, What is Discarded*, ed. Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton, and Paul Michel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 209–42.

17 Paul N. Nelles, "Reading and Memory in the Universal Library: Conrad Gessner and the Renaissance Book," in *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 147–69. Urs B. Leu, "Aneignung und Speicherung enzyklopädischen Wissens. Die Loci-Methode von Erasmus," in *Erasmus in Zürich. Eine verschwiegene Autorität*, ed. Christine Christ-von Wedel and Urs B. Leu (Zurich: Verlag NZZ, 2007), 327–42.

To show that Gessner had a mode of interpretation of his own, I want to analyse Gessner's only textbook, which was on Aristotle's *De Anima*. He published it in Zurich in 1563 in a compiled volume containing also the treatises on *De Anima* of Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), Veit Amerbach (1503–1557), and Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540).<sup>18</sup>

The character of Gessner's textbook with its lists can best be described as one instance of the great variety of collections of *loci communes*. These were compiled between ca. 1450 and 1800 by private individuals and also as methodological aids in all realms of knowledge. Since Gessner worked with the concept of *loci communes* in his encyclopaedic work *Pandectae*, the second part of the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, it makes sense to explain Gessner's view of the loci's meaning with the help of *Pandectae*. He used the concept in *Pandectae* to identify subject fields, referring to concrete bibliographical references when he listed his literature on a specific topic. The reader was therefore given very precise information about the pages on which they could find the original quote together with more information for the chosen topics.

Gessner's *De Anima* is a treatise written to be read from the first pages to the last. However, it contains so many small structural elements, such as lists and categories with sub concepts and sub statements, that we can see his text as a *loci* collection, even though Gessner clearly did not bother to create a uniform system of *loci*. Certainly, he did not adapt the work to the contemporary reception of Ramus's schemes. Gessner explains how this printed *loci* collection was integrated into teaching aims, identifying his work as *repetitorium*. In doing so, he assumed that the students received their knowledge of the objects and modes of argumentation treated in his work from a different source. This implies that the students possibly read other books about the topic in or outside class, including Aristotle's text, in addition to this *repetitorium*. The reading of the original author is thus possible, but not necessary, to an introduction to the subject of the Aristotelian *De Anima*.

In order to understand Gessner's distinctive contribution, it is important to examine which information he selected from his sources. It can appear that

18 Gessner's textbook on *De Anima* is Part 4 of a collected volume, edited by Gessner himself. Other than the work by Gessner, it also reprints already published books on *De Anima*. The titles are: Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini *de Anima et vita Libri tres*. Eiusdem Argumendi Viti Amerbachii *de Anima Libri IIII*, Philippi Melanthonis *Liber unus*. His accedit nunc primum Conradi Gesneri *de Anima liber, sententiosa breuitate, velutique per tabulas et aphorismos magna ex parte conscriptus, philosophiae, rei medicae ac philologiae studio-sis accomodatus: in quo de tactilibus qualitatibus, saporibus, odoribus, sonis, et coloribus, copiose accurateque tractatur* (Zurich: Jacob Gesner, 1563). Gessner's opus starts on page 719 and finishes on page 951. Emphasis added.

he was just engaged in a process of accumulation. For instance, a comparison between similar parts about the ear in the *Pandectae*, *De Anima*, and finally, in his lecture scripts shows that Gessner broadened his knowledge and enlarged his comments between 1548 and 1563. He added more new elements, rather than discarding old ones.

However, a comparison of the textbook with the second part of the *Liber Physicarum Meditationum*—the lecture scripts—shows that he considerably reduced his scholia commentary in his textbook *De Anima*. In the *Liber Physicarum Meditationum*, he discussed details of Themistius, Philoponus, and Simplicius, but he omitted them from his book. It is also clear that in *De Anima*, Gessner waived one important tradition of response to Aristotle, that of Ramus, and reduced another, that of Boethius. He emphasized a particular direction of interpretation derived from a scholarly Greek background that worked closely on the original text of Aristotle, in the tradition of Themistius or Faber Stapulensis. He combined this close textual explanation with an open discussion of anatomical evidence and addressed questions on the idea of sense reception. Thus, in the case of hearing, he explained that the medium of air functioned not only as a bearer of sound but that hearing depended on the ear separating an inner and an outer sphere of air.<sup>19</sup> Gessner's textbook shows that he did not simply publish all of the information he had ever gathered on his subjects. Instead, he adopted a subtle interpretive line pointing at the Greek commentary tradition on the one hand, and, on the other, elaborating the explicit anatomical reality of his findings.

Was Gessner's construction of a textbook a personal peculiarity, or did it conform to the textbook tradition of his time? We can compare Vives, Amerbach, and Melanchthon, three authors he connected in his book to his discussion on the outer senses. Vives mentioned the names of six authors (pp. 93–95), Rodolphus Agricola, Quintilian, Galen, Hesiod, Themistocles, and Thucydides, in a very condensed space of one sentence per author. Veit Amerbach cites only Themistius and Virgil, referring to the Echo, and also cites only one sentence per author (pp. 340–45); finally, Melanchthon mentions only Nicander,

19 His third important issue remains undiscussed here. It is the distinction of sounds, to which he added linguistic and cultural backdrops. Gessner used this method of distinguishing objects according to their qualities, emphasizing their names (in different languages) widely in his encyclopedia on the natural world. There, he connected writing with pictures. The value of his iconic pictures was recently discussed by Angela Fischel, "Collections, Images and Form in Sixteenth-Century Natural History: The Case of Conrad Gessner," *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010): 147–64. Angela Fischel, *Natur im Bild: Zeichnung und Naturerkenntnis bei Conrad Gessner und Ulisse Aldrovandi*, *humboldt-schriften zur kunst- und bildgeschichte* IX (Berlin: Mann, 2009).

Pliny, Virgil, and Dioscorides (pp. 625–26). This makes clear that none of them used the technique of collecting quotes to the same extent as Gessner. His text more closely resembles long, quote-packed and elaborated entries in an encyclopaedia. Within the tradition of *De Anima*-commentaries, Gessner's text bears a clear personal mark, both in method and content.

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We can observe a gradual pattern in which teaching became less complex and innovative. After 1560, Hebrew instruction reverted to the Zwinglian period using a textbook from the 1520s. A similar trend occurred in physics somewhat later: the next generation of teachers after Gessner did not move far beyond their teacher and, after his death in 1565, continued to use his texts. It seems that some of his lectures were still actively taught in 1586 because his lecture scripts were published for the use of students in that year, twenty-one years after his death. Gessner's former student and successor, Caspar Wolf, had bought Gessner's books and the bulk of Gessner's notes. He published the lecture scripts. Like the Hebrew grammar before it, between 1563 and 1586 the Gessnerian interpretation of Aristotelian physics was not developed further by the next generation of professors.

Teaching materials, whether for Hebrew and physics after Gessner, were not chosen for their innovative structure, but for their established value. Teachers in the third generation at the lectorium were not producers, rather they were administrators of knowledge that had been developed earlier. From the teacher-scholar in the first and second generation, the teacher-administrator emerged in the third generation.

The stagnation and simplification in teaching was, however, accompanied by innovative research publications. For example, we have seen that the publications of Johann Wilhelm Stucki on the Convivium involved comparative research in parts of disciplines not yet touched by the old masters. It seems that innovators in the third generation of teachers were searching for new challenges. Among the authors of new books were not only Stucki but Burkhard Leemann on sundials and the theology professor Josias Simmler who wrote on mechanical mathematics and political history, as well as on meteorites and other matters of astronomy.<sup>20</sup> The consolidation of certain disciplines, such as

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20 Leemann, Burkhard, *Sonnen Uhren zuo ryssen mit allen jren Stunden, ohn alle müsälige Theilung dess Equinoctials, (wie es aber bisshär gebrucht worden) auch ohne einige Veränderung dess Cirkels / ein nüwe und gar artliche Beschrybung, allen Liebhabern diser Kunst zuo sonderen Ehren und Gefallen nüwlich beschriben und an Tag geben &c.* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1587).

theology, Hebrew, or physics, left space to explore new regions, such as other parts of physics that had to do with mathematics and to write comparative political history, such as Simmler's internationally acclaimed book about governments in the Swiss Confederation, *De Republica Helvetiorum* (1576), which was published later in German, French and Latin.<sup>21</sup>

Applying the method of commonplaces or *loci communes* worked both ways. On the one hand, it reduced the material that students needed to memorize or look up frequently, and therefore it reduced the efforts teachers needed to put toward their teaching commitments. On the other hand, this created spare time that enabled the teachers to develop their disciplines and formulate new theses. Their new thoughts were introduced into the Zurich micro-climate mainly because as students they had visited other universities, as in the case of Josias Simmler, who had profited by learning mathematics and historical writing in Basel, and of Johann Wilhelm Stucki, who had learned Hebrew in Padua. The method of commonplaces helped to organize the materials necessary as sources for studying the new subjects. In other words, in the case of textbooks and publications, the organizational methods helped both teaching and research. They were not in conflict or mutually exclusive, but one helped the other.

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21 See Part 1, Chapter 6, and table 1 (Table listing editions of Josias Simmler's *Regimes of Switzerland*) of this book.

## Class Instruction and Education: Gessner and Zurich

When Conrad Gessner wrote his Zurich textbook *De Anima* on the second book of the Aristotelian doctrine of the soul in 1563, the *structure* of this 232 page work was important for him as an aid for the students reading it.<sup>1</sup> This is documented in his final note, in which he stated that his book would not need an index because it was well organized and therefore did not need auxiliary material for reading.<sup>2</sup> The book was addressed to students of physics, philology, and medicine (see fig. 12). It was created in conjunction with efforts to reorganize the Zurich Lectorium in 1559 in line with new teaching and administrative ideas. Among other things, these called for the professor of physics to compile his introductory texts himself.<sup>3</sup> From 1541 until his death in 1565, Conrad Gessner was not only a town physician in Zurich but also the only professor of natural philosophy at the Zurich Lectorium, where he also taught Aristotelian ethics from 1548 to 1559.<sup>4</sup> Zurich students attended his course on the

- 1 Gessner's textbook on *De Anima* is part four of a collected volume, edited by Gessner himself. Other than the work by Gessner, it also included reprints of already published books on *De Anima*. The titles are Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini *de Anima et vita Libri tres*. Eiusdem Argumenti Viti Amerbachii *de Anima Libri IIII*, Philippi Melanthonis *Liber unus*. His accedit nunc primum Conradi Gesneri *de Anima liber, sententiosa breuitate, velutique per tabulas et aphorismos magna ex parte conscriptus, philosophiae, rei medicae ac philologiae studiosis accomodatus: in quo de tactilibus qualitatibus, saporibus, odoribus, sonis, et coloribus, copiose accurateque tractatur* (Zurich: Jacob Gesner, 1563). Gessner's opus starts on page 719 and finishes on page 951. Emphasis added. See Appendix 12 for a list of content concerning his book.
- 2 Ibid., 952: "Nam e Conradi Gesneri de anima libro, quod is breuior sit, et ordine commodo faciliq[ue], conditur, indici quicquam addere non visum est necessarium."
- 3 StAZ, E II 476 (Zurich School Regulations), fol. 13r: "Von dem Professore physico. // Derselbig Professor soll im selbs stellen ein Cursum // oder Compendium der fürnemsten Stucken physices // oder wo von anderen gelehrten ein ordenlichen gnug- // samer und wäsentlicher Cursus vorhin gstellt wäre, // ihn und seinen Auditoribus erwehlen, und densel- // bigen zu seiner stund alle jahr von einem Examen // zum anderen, so vil möglich außlesen. // "
- 4 See especially the two new books that came out for Gessner's 500th anniversary in 2016: Leu, *Conrad Gessner (1516–1565)*, and the exhibition catalogue Leu and Ruoss, eds., *Facetten eines Universums*. Further on the subject see: Anja-Silvia Goeing, "'Physica' im Lehrplan der Schola Tigurina 1541– 1597," in *Anfänge und Grundlegungen moderner Pädagogik im 16. und*

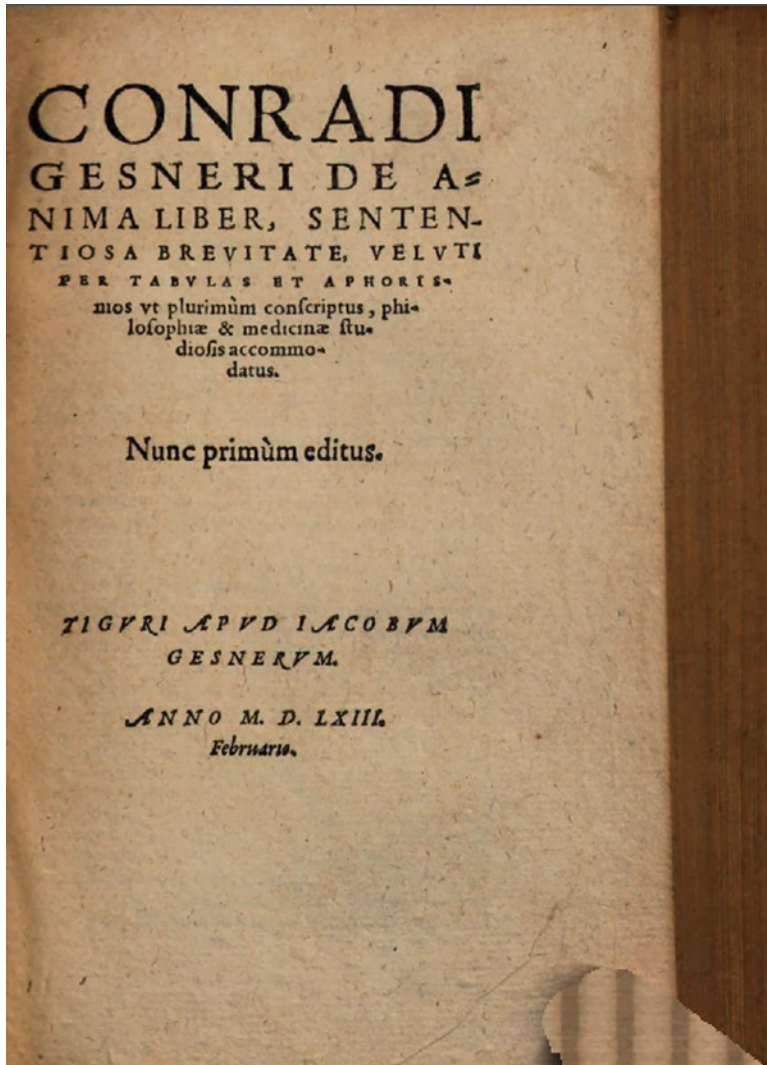


FIGURE 12 *Conrad Gessner, De Anima, title page of his part of the book (1563). The title page gives information about the means and methods of abbreviation (with tables and aphorisms) and shows whom the book should serve: scholars of philosophy and medicine*

ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK ZÜRICH, FF1065.

17. *Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Musolff and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Köln: Böhlau, 2003), 73–91: Gathering of bibliographical material. The research biography of Gessners is now enhanced by the reconstruction of the library books owned by Conrad Gessner: Urs B. Leu, Raffael Keller and Sandra Weidmann, *Conrad Gessner's Private Library, History of science and medicine library*, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

soul at the age of around sixteen, after they had successfully passed the Latin school, which consisted of five forms, and were accepted to the Lectorium to undertake further studies in rhetoric and dialectic, Greek, natural philosophy, ethics, and, in particular, theology.<sup>5</sup> Gessner's commentary provided a general introduction to contemporary theses on the soul and led to a discussion of the senses. Of the internal and external senses that Gessner classified according to his own criteria, the five external senses—the sense of touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight—are given extensive treatment (in the order named here) in their own chapters.<sup>6</sup>

In the secondary literature on the history of science, Gessner's encyclopaedias serve to show the foundations of contemporary organizations of knowledge.<sup>7</sup> In the manner of encyclopaedias, Gessner's *De Anima* consists mainly of all kinds of lists, organized under headings to illustrate overarching points of view. With the help of Gessner's textbook, it is possible to identify the significance of his systems for organizing knowledge and their function for instruction. I see Gessner's *De Anima* as a so-called printed commonplace book or collection of *loci* that is therefore part of a specific tradition with rhetorical roots.

Although *De Anima* is an example of how encyclopaedias and abridged textbooks followed the rules of certain kinds of commonplace books, Gessner's *Cosmos* contains more. In contrast to his unloved colleague at Paris, Petrus Ramus, Gessner combined the organization of concepts with the accumulation of new evidence derived from his own sensory experience.

Gessner himself assigned his book the function of a *repetitorium* (review book) and thus alluded to the field of applied mnemotechnics, or the art of memory. He connected his commentary on Aristotle to developments in the field of rhetoric. These developments relate mainly to the collection of *loci*, or commonplaces. In the last analysis, they go back to the reception of textbooks that were widely read in the Middle Ages: *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's early work *De invention*, and the *Progymnasmata*, written by

5 Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 107: The average age of the students enrolled in the lectorium was 16 to 20 years old. Ernst refers to the matriculation lists to verify his statement.

6 Gessner, *De Anima*, 798–830 (De Tactu), 831–39 (De Gustatu), 840–80 (De Odoratu), 880–925 (De Auditu), 926–51 (De Visu).

7 Cf. Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta*; Brian W. Ogilvie: *The Science of Describing. Natural History in Renaissance Europe*, passim (see Index, 375).



Greek orator Aphthonius (preliminary exercises of rhetoric) in the fourth century.<sup>8</sup>

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Only in recent times have the organizational forms of citational knowledge practices in the sixteenth century become the subject of independent research into the history of knowledge.<sup>9</sup> In her dissertation, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science*, Ann Blair, working with the *Universae Naturae Theatrum* by Jean Bodin (1596), draws attention to structures in the text that allow one to conclude that texts from old and ancient books had been gathered and distributed under topical headings.<sup>10</sup> Ann Moss in her 1996 book, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*, provides the most important survey of the different fields in which such *loci* collections were applied.<sup>11</sup> As she observes, the works of classical authors, first and foremost those of Cicero and Aristotle, were nearly untouchable in scholastic and early humanism but were dissected in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially in schools where students were made to memorize adaptable phrases. Single sentences were removed and organized under headings in collections of quotations. The generic terms were primarily taken from the works of Aristotle. After that, they were researched individually and, finally, they were applied and organized by means of new, highly thought-out approaches to dialectic, as in the work of Wittenberg scholar Philip Melanchthon and Paris professor Petrus Ramus. These *loci* collections were started in school and in many cases pursued by the scholar until his old age.

8 Edgar Mertner, "Topos und Commonplace [1956]," in *Toposforschung*, Respublica Litteraria 10, ed. Peter Jehn (Frankfurt/M.: Athenäum, 1972), 26–27, 33–34.

9 Ann Blair, "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (1992): 541–51. Brian W. Ogilvie, "The Many Books of Nature: Renaissance Naturalists and Information Overload," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, 1 (2003): 29–40. Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta*. Ann Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550–1700," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, 1 (2003): 11–28. Richard Yeo, "A Solution to the Multitude of Books: Ephraim Chambers's 'Cyclopaedia' (1728) as 'The Best Book in the Universe' (in Early Modern Information Overload)," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, 1 (2003): 61–72. Richard Yeo, "Ephraim Chambers's Cyclopaedia and the Tradition of Commonplaces," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, 1 (1996): 157–75.

10 Ann Blair: *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), especially Ch. 2.

11 Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*.

The extensive example of the 1538 school regulations by Johannes Sturm shows that the compilation of collections of quotations from classical and modern authors and the arrangement of these quotes under headings were part of school exercises designed to train students' memory in the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Whereas in higher classes the analysis and formulation of orations was the focus of exercises,<sup>13</sup> the *septima*, or third form, was dedicated to training memory by creating *loci* collections under sensible generic terms starting with God, moving to the human being, and, finally, incorporating the world of lifeless objects. The *loci*, or terms used, were taken from the works of classical literature, especially those by Virgil.

When Johannes Sturm wrote his work on education and had it printed in 1538, no classes had been taught in his school that used commonplace books as a method. The textbooks did not consist of collections of quotations, but of the classical texts themselves, which Sturm explained in notes dealing with difficult words in the text. This is known to us from lecture transcriptions made by his students.<sup>14</sup> It would be interesting to learn how students in later times—from the 1560s on—were taught to work with printed commonplace books at Strasbourg. These textbooks contained quotation collections, which meant that the students did not have to do any more collecting themselves. Printed texts reduced student initiative.

The numerous recent accounts of the emergence of *printed* commonplace books and how these influenced the reception of text, show how extensive these were. They do not, however, explain why printed commonplace books only appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. This is true of accounts of single authors who collected *loci* as explained by William Sherman in his book *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* of 2008, or also, as in an article by Urs Leu, of the collections of *loci* in Zurich that connected this method with the general reception of Erasmus in Zurich.<sup>15</sup>

Although Ann Moss states that the later use of structured and printed commonplace books in schools from 1560 was frequent, she does not describe their different functions, which could not have consisted (at least insofar as the book was in the hand of students, not of teachers) in the compilation of

12 Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 147–55.

13 Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1995), 97–101.

14 Cf. Goeing: "Martin Crusius' Verwendung."

15 Sherman, *Used Books*. Leu, "Aneignung und Speicherung enzyklopädischen Wissens. Die *Loci*-Methode von Erasmus."

commonplace words since these compilations were already made. For this reason, she also does not discuss the status of *repetitoria* or exercises in class.

In his 2007 book, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543–1630*, Howard Hotson examines how Petrus Ramus and his followers thought about *loci* collections.<sup>16</sup> He alludes to one case in 1582 at the University of Leiden, in which six students requested that they be allowed to read Aristotle in the original and without Ramus's compendia. The senate accepted this petition and reintroduced the unabridged lecture of Aristotle in class. Theoretical or pedagogical motives for the debate are not reported, but the incident implied some student dissatisfaction with Ramus's commentary.

The danger of using prefabricated commonplaces was that the students could compile orations without fully understanding their meaning. Lina Bolzoni's book *La stanza della memoria* (1995), translated into English in 2001, examines this struggle in academia between the search for eloquence, the need for rote learning, and the desire on the part of students to achieve a good performance.<sup>17</sup> The danger, in her view, was that they would use seemingly erudite but hollow and meaningless phrases. Bolzoni cites the example of a tree diagram (see fig. 13) that rhetoric professor Francesco Robortello produced for the *Accademia Veneziana* in 1549. He used it to represent visually his course on rhetoric making large promises to his potential students. Jeremy Parzen has translated Robortello's Latin subtitle into English:

In hope of a successful result, Francesco Robortello from Udine—who, by order of the scholastic authorities, will teach a course on rhetoric in Venice this year based on the ancient rhetoricians—offers this table to his listeners for their perusal. All things that have to do with the art of speech—from Cicero to Quintilian, Hermogenes, or Aristotle—have been positioned in the places of the table. Anyone can consult it, and thus can know the origin of every question and the heading to which one must refer. In this way, every time a controversy arises in interpretation, all that can be disputed about it will be readily identifiable in its place.<sup>18</sup>

16 Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, 54–55.

17 Lina Bolzoni, *La Stanza Della Memoria: Modelli Letterari e Iconografici Nell'Eta Della Stampa* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1995). For more information about Francesco Robortello's life and work, and his later construction of topics in his manuscript "Discorso dell'origine, numero, ordine et methodo delli luoghi topici," of 1566/67, see Marco Sgarbi, "Francesco Robortello on Topics." *Viator* 47, no. 1 (2016): 365–88.

18 Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory. Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*. Transl. by Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 24–25.

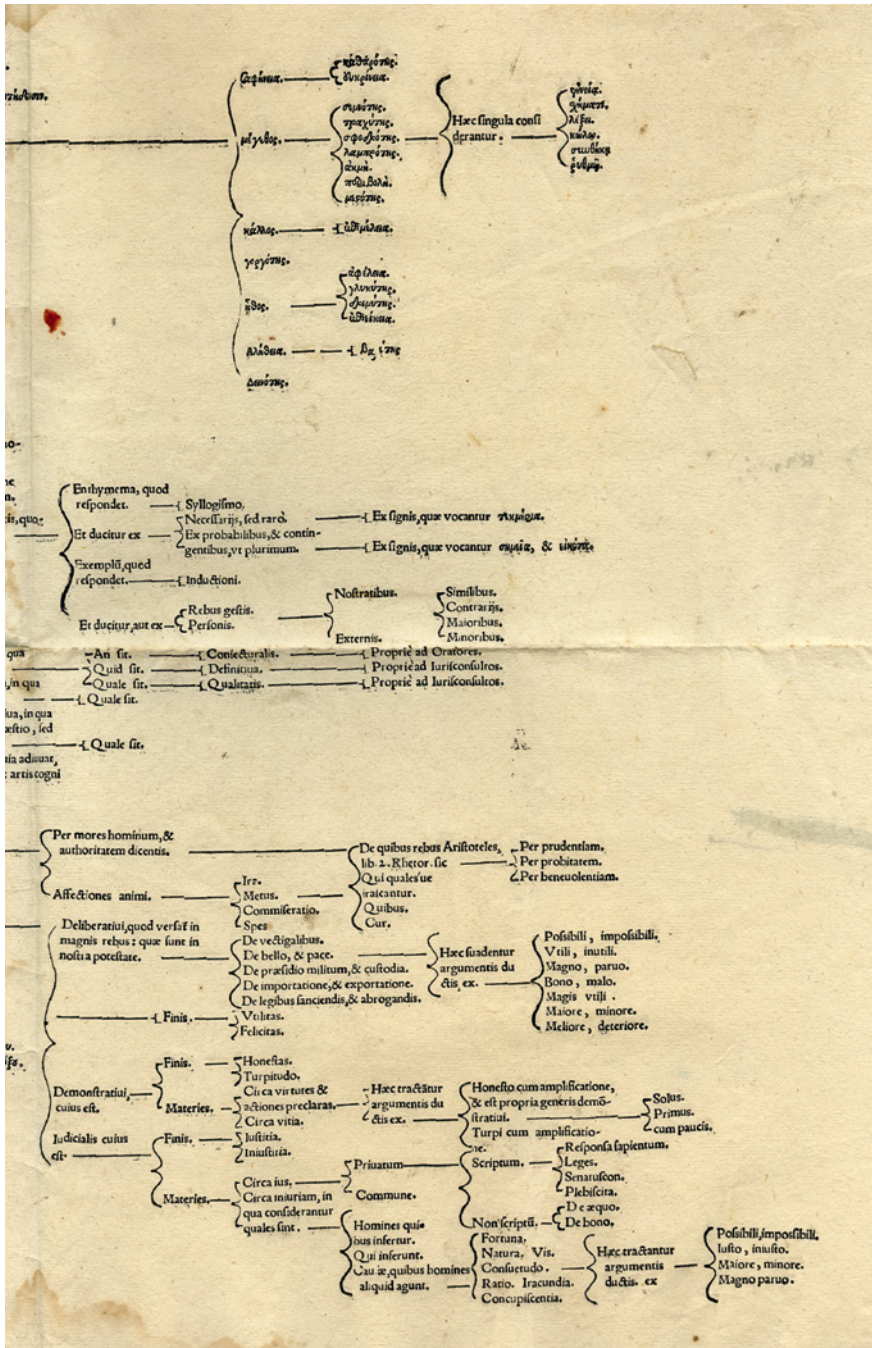


FIGURE 13 Francesco Robortello, *Detail of a tree visualization for a Course of Rhetoric at the Academia Veneziana (1549)*. The visualisation shows organizing keywords that lead through the whole lecture program. Venice, Museo Correr, Fondo Donà dalle Rose, 447/29. Courtesy of Museo Correr, Venice

Robortello suggests that students who consult his table will be able to identify the terms of the objects that comprise the entire field of rhetoric. Should the listener of his lecture find himself in the predicament of having to compose an oration for a debate, he will have access to the entire contents by following the structure of the headings, which make it easy to identify and find the fields of reference and necessary information. Thus, the table provides a quick orientation for students. With this example, Lina Bolzoni shows that students were able to follow the teacher's voice and words at every moment of the lecture by looking at the diagram. Consequently, they were able to find each term easily in the network of relations. Through this method, knowledge could be used again and again without any further input by the student.

Bolzoni's statements show how great the didactic distance could be, on the one hand, between the students' collection and production of commonplace books and, on the other, the teachers' distribution of commonplace books that they themselves had made. Knowledge was handled in quite different ways and with very different goals. In the first case, classical texts and text fragments were mnemonically adapted and accommodated to the proper roster of terms and headings, and in the second there was a ready-made use of arguments or phrases. The recourse to classical texts in the second case was rendered obsolete.

Bolzoni does not draw any conclusions from her observation but moves on to the next point, which concerns the senseless composition of orations by rhetorical machines capable of mixing ready-made phrases in multifaceted variations. She leaves it to the reader to imagine how humanism could develop into mere senselessness, starting with a sage work by authors such as Cicero and Quintilian, moving to *loci* collections, and culminating in the preposterous phrase-threshing machine. The school itself is not her subject. The question of *loci* collections in school therefore remains open.

### Composition of *Loci* Collections: Erasmus's *De Copia*

In his 1513 work, *De Copia*, on the abundance of style (see fig. 1), Erasmus of Rotterdam described two aspects of collecting *loci* in commonplace books.<sup>19</sup>

19 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De Copia*. 2nd ed. (Strasbourg 1513), 1st book, 7th chapter, see fig. 1. I encountered this topic first in a graduate seminary at Princeton University in Winter 2004, held by Anthony Grafton. Since then I have thought about the problem of printed commonplace books as a problem of epistemology in the history of early modern

First, he discussed the collection of words (*verba*) or of the eloquent and well-chosen expressions used in letters (replacing the collection of formulae used in his times) and secondly the aspect of *res*, which entails explaining what is comprised by an entire proposition or sentence—translatable, perhaps, as “thought.” He identified both parts explicitly as “Verba” and “Res,” the first part “verba” due to its emphasis on words and the second part “res” due to its concern with concepts.<sup>20</sup>

In the first part of his book, he recommended that, in order to compose fluent and more eloquent letters, his readers, ideally students of rhetoric, should generate a list of expressions or phrases under headings that would be useful in the future. His many examples in support of his suggestion can be quite amusing since they show letter headings and salutations developed ad absurdum. Betty Knott’s English translation of *De copia* reads: “Let us, for example, take this sentence: ‘Your letter pleased me mightily.’”<sup>21</sup> It was transformed into: “How delighted I was to read your letter! The perusal of your letter charmed my mind with singular delight. ... As a result of your letter I was affected with singular gladness.” The variations end with: “Could I possibly compare Attic honey with your dear letter?” and “Your lines seem to me pure enchantment.” In fifty-four variations, Erasmus demonstrated the possibilities of an abundant style, of changing statements in a nuanced way, and of expressing the same content with different words.

In the second part of his work, Erasmus expanded the field of the collected examples by adding the world of facts, themes, and modes of argumentation. According to Erasmus, in the area of *res*, students should first examine each of the many examples and possibilities in order to decide how they can formulate the best-possible argument and adapt it to the situation. Erasmus concluded that the exercise of collecting and applying these phrases would train the memory over time and enable students to find the correct pattern easily and quickly.

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education. See, on Erasmus’ variations in *De copia*: Anthony Grafton, “The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies: Francis Daniel Pastorius Makes a Notebook,” *The American Historical Review* 117, no 1 (February 2012): 1–39, p. 19.

20 Ibid., 294: “Such considerations have induced me to put forward some ideas on copia, the abundant style, myself, treating its two aspects of content and expression, and giving some examples and patterns.”

21 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia, De Ratione Studii*, ed. Craig R. Thompson, *Collected works of Erasmus*, 24 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 348–65.

In 1512, Erasmus dedicated his book to St. Paul's school in London.<sup>22</sup> He had written it long before but only agreed to have it printed in 1512 in London when faced with the threat of a non-authorized print of one version of the manuscript. Enhanced editions were then printed in Strasbourg in 1513 and Basel in 1514. By 1572, as Herbert Rix noted in 1946, there were 150 editions of the book, printed by the famous printing shops of northern Europe, including those in Antwerp, Basel, Leipzig, London, Lyon, Paris, Cologne, and Strasbourg.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know how large the print runs of the individual editions were, yet we can assume on the basis of the large number of editions that the book was disseminated throughout Europe.

It was also recommended and prescribed for teaching in Zurich. Proof of this can be found in the Zurich school regulations of 1559: Erasmus's *De Copia* was part of the fifth-form's curriculum in the upper Latin school.<sup>24</sup> According to the plan, the book was to be read before Gessner's Aristotelian *physica* although we do not know if this plan was ever implemented. We do know, however, from the study by Urs Leu that there were similarities between the collection of quotes recommended by Erasmus and the registers forming the basis for Conrad Gessner's encyclopedias.<sup>25</sup> Both are comparable in forming generic terms, but both are not completely the same or perfect mirrors of each other.

The applied method of Erasmus was used especially in Northern Europe, if not as point of departure, at least as a determined form to gather quotes under headers in notebooks. These notebooks were called *topoi*-books, *loci*-books, or simple commonplace books, according to the kind of collection referring to header terms, the so-called *loci* or *topoi*. They are found in all fields of knowledge, and especially used in school. Ann Moss uses the example of the school treatise *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* by Johannes Sturm, published in Strasbourg in 1538, to show that students were explicitly guided to

22 Herbert David Rix, "The Edition of Erasmus' *de copia*," *Studies in Philology* 43 (1946): 597–98.

23 Ibid., 604–615.

24 Zurich School Regulations, fol. 11r–v: "Die 5. und Oberste Classis is des schulmeisters. der // soll am morgen ein guten graecum authorem lesen, zu // midtag ein Latinum, zu abend prae exercitamenta Rhetorices // und Dialectices, als dann sind Aphthonius, Libri de copia rerum // Erasmi, oder etwas dergleichen, das man je nach gestalt // < 11v > der zeiten und knaben übereinkommt."

25 Leu, "Aneignung und Speicherung enzyklopädischen Wissens. Die *Loci*-Methode von Erasmus."

create notebooks like this.<sup>26</sup> Sturm says, in the translation by Lewis Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley of 1995:

These three grades, the ninth, eighth, and seventh, require training the memory. ... Even material which they have already learned once must be repeated at brief intervals, often and regularly. The perceptions of the mind become clearer, the faculty of recall becomes brighter, and the discovery and use of each are easier if they may be divided up according to certain common criteria, limb by limb as it were, and by short phrases, and collected under general headings so that what the orderly mind itself can recite from memory, it may also know where to find the same information divided neatly into its basic components. For just as cosmographers' maps which depict the very places we once frequented strongly excite us and enlighten our perceptions, so even desolate expanses are put into order when we grasp them with the mind.<sup>27</sup>

The first three grades until children reached the age of eight or nine were mainly dedicated to exercises of the mind. Sturm recommended separating the subject taught by the teacher into small parts, such as sentences, and collecting it under subject headings (*loci*). This division was not made in order to memorize these sentences, but rather it enabled students to keep the sentences and find them again, if necessary. This kind of map, which Sturm asked his students to learn, therefore represents the content of the memory in an ideal form.

We find commonplace or *loci* books en masse in the archives, from the late sixteenth century onward. Good examples are the *loci* book by Francis Bacon in London, a collection of interesting sentences without order or headings, and Théodore Tronchin's well-organized *topoi* book on *physica* from 1598 (see fig. 14).<sup>28</sup> The latter is held in the Genevan Library with

26 Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 147–55.

27 Spitz and Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education*, 91.

28 Francis Bacon, *Francis Bacon's Promus of Formularies and Elegancies, Being a Literal Reprint of Part of the Harleian MS. 7017*, in *The British Museum, London*, ed. F.B. Bickley (London 1898), Facsimile, glued in after the title page. Fol. 85 bears the date 1594. The transcription (Ibid., pp. 28–29) is: "Chameleon, Proteus, Euripus.// Mu[l]ta novit uulpes sod Echinus unum magnum// Semper Africa aliquid monstrj parit// Ex eodem ore calidum et frigidum// Ex se finxit velut araneus// Laqueus laqueum cepit.// Hinc illę lachrimę. Hydrus in dolio// Dicas tria ex Curia (liberty vpon dispaire// Argi Collis (a place of robbing.// Older then Chaos.// Samiorum flores// A bride grooms life// [29] Samius comatus (of one of no expetacion and great proof// Adonis gardens (things of great pleasure



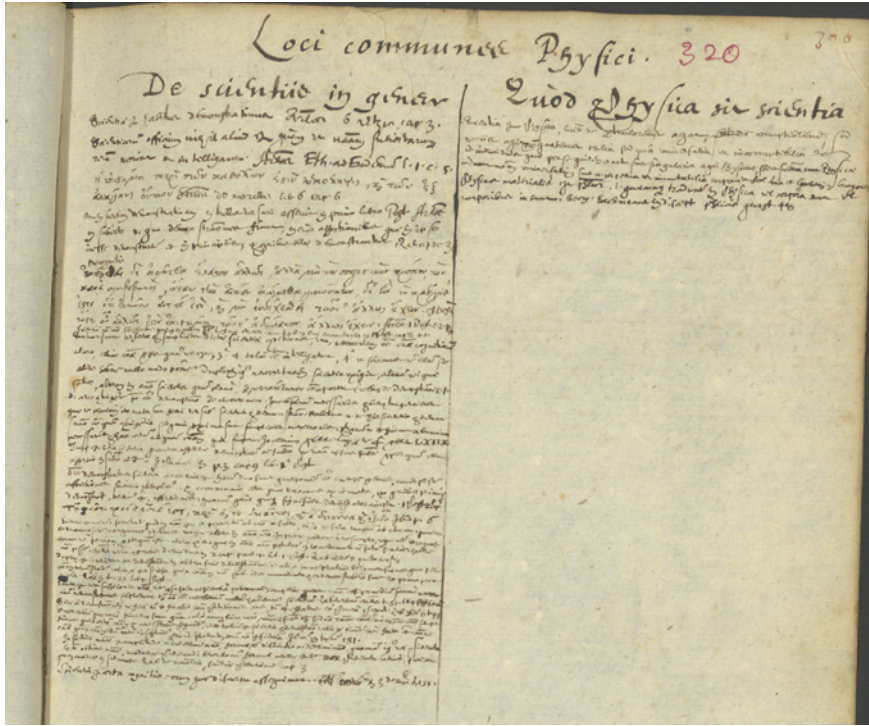


FIGURE 14 Théodore Tronchin, MS Arch. Tr. Vol. 32, 320r. Bibliothèque universitaire de Genève, Geneva: Commonplace book (1598), detail: notes on Aristotle's physics that Tronchin took when he was about sixteen years old. Courtesy of Bibliothèque universitaire de Genève, Geneva

Tronchin's other school papers and personal effects. Tronchin, who was elected rector of the Genevan Academy twelve years later, was just sixteen when he started the book using quotes from Aristotelian physics, ethics, and economics.<sup>29</sup>

but soone fading.// Que sub axillis fiunt.// In crastinum seria.// To remooue an old tree// Κομακωπον (of one that fretteth and vaunteth boldnesse to vtter choler.// To bite the bridle// Lesbia regula.// Vnguis in vlcere.// To feed vpon musterd// In antro trophonij (of one that neuer laugheth// Arctum annulum ne gestato//."

- 29 See fig. 14, Théodore Tronchin, MS Arch. Tr. Vol. 32, 320r. Bibliothèque universitaire de Genève, Geneva. Cf. *Catalogue de la partie des archives Tronchin acquise par la Societe du Musee historique de la Reformation* (Geneva 1946), 83. William A. McComish: *The Epigones: a Study of the theology of the Genevan Academy at the time of the Synod of Dort, with special reference to Giovanni Diodati*, Princeton Theological monograph series 13 (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1989), 32.

From the second half of the sixteenth century onward, the use of topoi books with hierarchical heading systems, such as the one developed by Francesco Robortello, was regarded as a trademark of the schools and modes of thought influenced by Ramus, especially in reformed Protestant regions. As Howard Hotson reports, in 1576, rector of the academy in Altdorf Thomas Freigius composed and had printed the textbooks in all subjects—grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, physics, etc.—“nach Art des Ramus” (“according to Ramus”).<sup>30</sup>

Scholars of dialectic, notably Philip Melanchthon and Petrus Ramus, engaged in a lively discussion not just about the use of commonplace books but about the organization and classification of generic terms applied to scholarly subjects. Wittenberg professor Philip Melanchthon altered and reedited his opinion on the connection between rhetoric and dialectic several times between 1520 and his death in 1560.<sup>31</sup> As Volkhard Wels demonstrates in his 2008 study of *Erothemata Dialectices*, Melanchthon treated basic axiomatic sentences of each subject as *loci communes* since “they serve as the most important foundation for the deduction of specific subordinate clauses” (“als wichtigste Voraussetzung der Deduktion spezifischer Untersätze dienen”).<sup>32</sup> They therefore demarcate the group of generally accepted true sentences from which all subordinate clauses are deduced.

The content of Melanchthon's book differed from other books on rhetoric. His goal was not to present, under generic terms, an abundance of words and thoughts for memorization; thus, he was not trying to enable the reader to produce better texts faster. Rather, he was concerned with introducing and teaching basic theological or foundational sentences.

On the other hand, Petrus Ramus, a student of Johannes Sturm and a professor in Paris, began after 1540 to construct his dialectics based on premises from verbal reasoning. Walter J. Ong, whose 1958 book *Ramus: Method and the Decay of Dialogue* continues to be held in high esteem today, described Ramus's approach as follows:

The Training in Dialectic, from which the later Dialectic emerges, is a curious document and can be described as an attempt to set a vaguely Agri-  
colan dialectic in a Ciceronian psychology, to give it a Platonic surface

<sup>30</sup> Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Melanchthon, *Compendiaria Dialectices Ratio* (Wittenberg: Lotter, 1520).

<sup>32</sup> Volkhard Wels, “Melanchthon's textbooks on dialectic and rhetoric as complementary parts of a theory of argumentation,” in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early modern Europe*, 153.

purportedly in the interests of religion, and to “simplify” the result for reasons of “practice” or pedagogical expediency.<sup>33</sup>

In short, Ramus assumed that the art of dialectic must imitate a natural dialectic or mode of disputing that was open to every school child, even one without training. This natural dialectic had nothing to do with Aristotelian prescripts.<sup>34</sup>

As Paul Michel discusses extensively in his essay “Verzweigungen, geschweifte Klammern, Dezimalstellen” (2007), in 1565, the physician and naturalist Theodor Zwinger, who was active in Basel in the age of Conrad Gessner, used the approach proposed by Ramus for his tables and diagrams.<sup>35</sup> Ironically, Zwinger’s tree diagrams do not allow us to retrieve a term once it is stored in his system. Michel shows this using one entry as an example: “On the effects of the function of the human mind” (“über die Wirkungen der Funktionen des menschlichen Geistes”).<sup>36</sup> The diagram belonging to this header takes up twelve folio pages. The content referred to by the diagram fills the following eighty-four folio pages. The primary *loci* are affirmans-negans (affirmative-negative), certa-incerta (sure-unsure), toto-parte (whole-part), etc. The subordinate terms continue with similar criteria. Examples of *loci* in the middle of the hierarchy are simplex-compositer (simple-composite). Ultimately, any search for terms using these *loci* is doomed to failure.

### *Loci* in Gessner’s Teaching

In Zurich, there was very little scholarly debate concerning the makeup of *loci*. Conrad Gessner, in his 1548 *Pandectae*, which contained a collection of

33 Walter J. Ong, *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958; repr., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 172.

34 Petrus Ramus and Omar Talon, *Aristotelicae Animadversiones — Dialecticae institutiones* (Paris, 1543; repr. with an introduction by W. Risse, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1964). Cf. figure 15: Petrus Ramus, *Dialecticae Libri duo* (Mulhouse, 1586), compares his method with the one of Philip Melanchton.

35 Paul Michel, “Verzweigungen, geschweifte Klammern, Dezimalstellen—Potenz und Grenzen des taxonomischen Ordnungssystems von Platon über Theodor Zwinger bis Melvil Dewey,” in *Allgemeinwissen und Gesellschaft. Akten des internationalen Kongresses über Wissenstransfer und enzyklopädische Ordnungssysteme, vom 18.–21. September 2003 in Prangins*, ed. Paul Michel, Madeleine Herren, and Martin Rüesch (Aachen: Shaker 2007), 105–44.

36 Michel, “Verzweigungen, geschweifte Klammern, Dezimalstellen,” 131–35.

E. PHIL. MELAN. DIAL. LIB. IV. DE LOCIS RERVM.				
Qui sunt loci rerum &				
<p>1. <b>V</b>t in methodo simplicium vocum dicimus definitio- nem, deinde species seu partes, postea causas, effe- ctus, cognata, pugnantiæ querenda esse, ita propemodum locorum series instituitur, de quaestione coniuncta, seu de propositione. Necessæ est enim affinem esse doctrinam, quia ex enarratione simplicium sumitur confirmatio aut refuta- tio coniunctorum.</p>				
Sunt igitur hi loci.				
Philippus.	Ramus.			
1. Definitio & defini- tum. 2. Genus.	1. Efficiens. 2. Materia.	Effectus.	Artificialia, e.g. Prima. Consequencia.	
3. Species. 4. Diffe- rentia, proprium.	1. Forma. 2. Fines.			
5. Etymologia, No- men. 6. Coniuncta, casus. 7. Totum, partes. 8. Diuisio.	2. Subiectum.	Adiunctum.		
9. Causæ. 10. Effectus.	Diuersa (Dispa- rata. 1. Relata.			
11. Antecedentia. 12. Consequentia. 13. Ab surdum. 14. A necessa- rio. 15. Ab impossibili.	1. Opposita. 2. Contradictoria. 3. Privantia.		Distantia.	
16. Adiuncta. 17. Con- nexa, circumstantiæ.	4. Comparata.	Paria Impar Qualia Quantum	Major Minor Similia Dissimilia	Comparatio
18. Communiter ac- cidentia. 19. Similia. 20. Paria. 21. Ex ma- iore. 22. Ex minore.	5. Notatio. 6. Coniunctio.			
23. A proportionem. 24. Pugnantiæ. 25. Disparata. 26. Signa. 27. Exempla. 28. Au- thoritas, testimonia.				

FIGURE 15 *Petrus Ramus, Dialecticæ Libri duo (Mulhouse: Rigswick, 1586), f. 42r; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Ph.sp. 157, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00022730-6; compares his method with the one of Philip Melancthon.*

bibliographic entries organized according to school or university subjects and their subgroups, defined what he understood by the term *loci communes*.<sup>37</sup> As Urs Leu has written, Gessner suggested collecting *loci* and examples according to the method described by Erasmus in the second book of *De Copia*.<sup>38</sup> Gessner wrote in his introduction that *Pandectae* presented a single collection of *loci* arranged by subject and subordinate subjects. First, he defined areas of knowledge by moving beyond school and university subjects to develop his own categories, which depended on contemporary book knowledge. The subject *Physica* follows an extensive bibliographical description of the subjects *Grammatica* (to f. 42v), *Dialectica* (to f. 48v), *Rhetorica* (to f. 58v), *Poetica* (to f. 72v), *Arithmetica* (to f. 76v), *Geometria* (to f. 80v), *Musica* (to f. 86v), *Astronomia* (to f. 94v), *Astrologia* (to f. 98v), *Divinatione et Magia* (to f. 106v), *Geographia* (to f. 116v), *Historiae* (to f. 164v), and *Artes illiterates* (to f. 180v). *Physica* (to f. 236v) was followed by *Metaphysica* (260v), further Aristotelian writings, and the university subjects of medicine, law, and theology.

Every subject had subordinate *loci* that divided the specific areas. *Physica*, for example, was arranged according to the books by Aristotle. The *Locus* or *Titulus IX* examined *De Anima*. As throughout the *Pandectae*, Gessner created a hierarchy of *loci*, ranging from the general to the specific. Within the particular entries, Gessner included bibliographical finding aids. Hence “Hearing” (*de audito*) in *Titulus IX* on *De Anima* (f. 213r) was listed with the following information (see fig. 16). First Gessner created subtopics (in this case *De audito* and *De auribus*), then he cited bibliographical data, the author, a short title of the book, and the chapter number. Gessner did not provide readers of his *Pandectae* with quotes in order to allow them to reconstruct an oration as quickly as possible as Robortello wanted. Rather, he gave information on the location of passages in different books, which readers had to search for. They were indirectly prompted to search for the quote themselves. They should then consult the original text with Gessner’s advice, and excerpt the searched-for content. Here the focus was clearly on the engagement with literature, not on the quick re-creation of a piece of writing or oration.

While *Pandectae* worked with references to other passages in books, Gessner’s *De Anima* was a different type of work. Similar to *Pandectae*, it was a *loci* book, but it can be read without consulting the original text of Aristotle’s *De Anima*. The structure of Gessner’s *De Anima* can hardly be compared to that

37 Conrad Gessner, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum uniuersalium Conradi Gesneri Tigurini, medici et philosophiae professoris, libri XXI* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1548), 24–25.

38 Leu, “Aneignung und Speicherung enzyklopädischen Wissens. Die *Loci*-Methode von Erasmus,” 339.



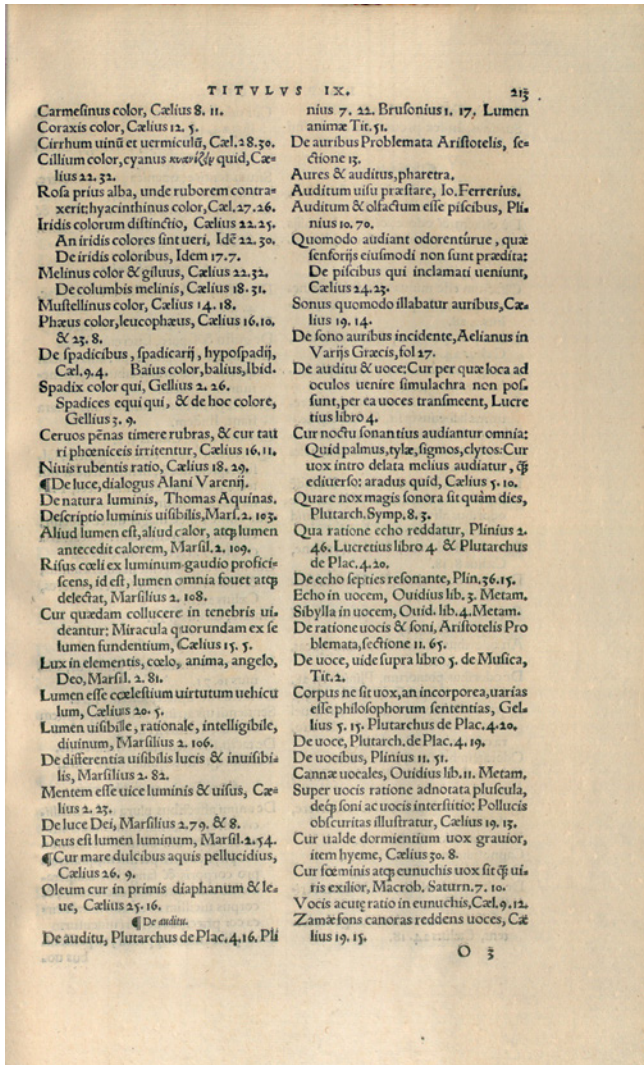


FIGURE 16 *Conrad Gessner, Pandectae, f. 213r: Detail about the sense of hearing (De auditu). Zentralbibliothek Zürich, 5.13.2.*

Transcription of parts of the grey zones:

- De auditu, Plutarchus de Plac. 4.16. Plinius 7. 22. Brusonius 1.17. Lumen animae Tit. 52

("de Plac." = probably Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Placita Philosophorum*.)

- De auribus Problemata Aristotelis, sectione 13.<sup>39</sup>

39 Probably Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Placita Philosophorum*.

of *Pandectae*. The heading term in the subgroups was one entire sentence that built upon the previous subgroup heading term, also a sentence. It was always expanded and differentiated by the list of entries underneath. Unlike the *Pandectae*, that can be read piecemeal, *De Anima* was constructed to be read from beginning to end.

### *Organization of the Textbook De Anima*

In contrast to his encyclopaedia, Gessner did not arrange the chapters of *De Anima* alphabetically; rather he structured them according to the objects under discussion, moving from the general to the specific. After an initial general section, he explained Aristotle's five external senses—sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch—but treated them in inverse order. He started with the sense of touch and then addressed taste, smell, and hearing before discussing sight. He gave two reasons for this change:

Aristoteles de visu primum agit, deinde auditu, olfactu, gustatu, et tactu postremo: quod circa tangendi sensum plures difficultates occurrant, quam circa visum. a notioribus enim incipiendum semper existimat, si discendi docendive methodum sequi velimus. Sed quoniam nos non tam inquirimus nova: quam ab Aristotele fere et alijs inventa, repetimus, digerimus, exercemus, nihil prohibet quo minus contrario ordine, a primo et maxime necessario sensuum tactu, facto initio, per caeteros medios ad visum usque progrediamur.<sup>40</sup>

He stated that "Aristotle deals first with the sense of sight, then with hearing, smell, taste, and later with touch" because it is easier to deal with the sense of sight than with the sense of touch. But Gessner preferred to proceed from the most complex sense. "But," he went on, "since we are not so much concerned about the new, but rather wish to repeat, digest and practice, what we have found in Aristotle's work and those of others, nothing forbids that we may proceed in an opposite order, starting from the first and the most necessary of the senses, touch, alongside the other intermediates to the sense of sight." Gessner deviated explicitly from a didactic path that put the difficult sense of touch at the end, and, for additional didactic reasons, chose the opposite order for the chapters in his writing. He strived to review material with his students, to digest and practice it, meaning he did not break new ground in the discussion of the subject. He therefore started with what was necessary.

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40 Gessner, *De Anima*, 798.

Gessner also used lists in different ways in different places of *De Anima*. Whereas the first, general section ending on page 797 consisted almost without exception of numbered lists—aphorisms and superordinate sentences—the lists in the second part resembled patterns of encyclopaedias. The chapters on the single senses in the second part were structured similarly. Gessner created subgroups with the same name that explained the function of all the senses in greater detail. They served to organize the entries and facilitate comparison. Even within the entries, Gessner compared organs and functions. In concrete terms, these categories included, first, a description of the organ (*organum*), then of the medium (*medium*) or carrier of the sensory perception, and, finally, of the object (*objectum*) that was comprised by the sense.<sup>41</sup> He included the distinguishing qualities attributable to the sense (*modus*)—that is, the contribution it made to allowing us to perceive the world. In the case of the tactile sense, for example, this contribution consisted of allowing us to distinguish between the simplest elements of the touched object, such as warmth, coldness, humidity, and aridity.<sup>42</sup> In the case of hearing, he first discussed the ear, then the sound as its object, and the air as its medium. Finally, the *modus* was an assembly of different characteristics of sound laid out in tables. A look at the description of the organ, the first of Gessner's categories, showed the type of reasoning:<sup>43</sup>

DE AUDITV. //

Auditus est vis in meatibus auditorijs per medium // aeris (vel aquae) sonos percipiens. // [in the margins: Organum] De instrumento auditorio non conueniunt inter se au // thores. Aliqui simplicius aurem id esse dicunt: quod no // men modo auriculam significat, partem scilicet prominen-// tem, quae non tam ad audiendum, quam melius audien // dum data est quadrupedibus tantum, nec omnibus, sed // uiuiparis, et obiter etiam ad ornatum, praecipue homi-// ni. modo meatum interiorem qui in sanguine praeditis et // perfectioribus omnibus manifestus est. Sed quaerendum // est quaenam simplex particula aurium aut meatuum, // praecipuam ad audiendum vim habeat, ut in oculis pu- // [881] pilli.

41 Ibid., 798–99 (De Tactu); 831–33 (De Gustatu); 840–42 (De Odoratu); 880–84 (De Auditu); 930–33 (De Visu).

Ibid., 799–803 (De Tactu); 833–34 (De Gustatu); 842–43 (De Odoratu); 884–89 (De Auditu); 928–30 (De Visu).

42 Ibid., 803–31, here quoted 806 (De Tactu); 834–40 (De Gustatu); 843–80 (De Odoratu); 889–926 (De Auditu); 933–50 (De Visu).

43 Gessner, *De Anima*, 880.



Gessner stated briefly—and without mentioning particular authors—that there were different opinions about the hearing organs. He first discussed whether the hearing organ was the same as the ear, an organ that only some hearing creatures have. He searched for something more specific, similar to the pupil of the eye for sight. In doing so, he made the implicit assumption that the external senses can be seen analogously. Even though he did not directly allude to a source, it can be argued that Gessner seemed to be following the reasoning of Galen or that of the physician Andrea Vesalius, whose work was based on anatomical models, rather than that of Aristotle.<sup>44</sup>

Even though Aristotle did not dominate the argument, his influence can be seen in Gessner's choice of subchapters and *loci* as well as the framework of the argumentation. Gessner placed a table at the beginning of his treatment of the second part of *De Anima* that was the abridged version of the introduction to Aristotle's *De Anima* by Jacob Faber Stapulensis. Gessner seems to have used categories that resembled those that Faber Stapulensis had constructed and explained. These followed a particular order: "1. Potentia (potential), 2. Obiectum (object), 3. Operatio (mode of operation), 4. Organum (organ), 5. Gradus vivendi (stage of life)."<sup>45</sup> However, Gessner deviated from this usual path by putting the anatomical discussion of the organ (number 4) at the beginning of his line of reasoning. Thus, he examined the topic of hearing from a different perspective, the evidence of the human and animal skeletons. The appearance of the dissected body was more important than citations from classical authors and created the basis of argumentation.

Nevertheless, this emphasis on anatomy can be linked to the verbal illustrations that stem from Aristotle and other classical authors, such as Virgil. For example, Aurelius Augustinus recorded having known someone that was able to move his ears back and forth.<sup>46</sup> Gessner took these quotes from collected volumes and encyclopaedias published in the Middle Ages and his own time, including the work of a contemporary, Caelius Rhodiginus, who cited Virgil on hearing.<sup>47</sup> He also used the tenth-century dictionary entitled *Suidas*, which contained 30,000 terms and presented Greek next to Latin names.<sup>48</sup>

44 See Goeing, "Patterns of Thought" for further details on where the thoughts actually derived from. On the whole, Gessner prefers an argumentation very close to anatomy. He follows the thought of Galen because he is closer to the physical than Aristotle.

45 Gessner, *De Anima*, 747.

46 Ibid., 884.

47 Ibid., 883.

48 Ibid., 884. For information about *Suidas*, see "Suidas," in Chisholm, Hugh, ed., *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*,

After Gessner dealt with the organ of the ear and the medium air, he turned to his final category, sound. He distinguished sounds using pairs of opposites: *molle*, *durum* (soft, hard), *laeue*, *asperum* (gentle, harsh), *tenue*, *crassum* (weak, strong), and “*argutum et ei oppositum sathron*” (sharp and its opposite *sathron*). These were explained with great precision and were followed by a list of onomatopoetic expressions in the Greek language, arranged alphabetically. In several places, he compared the expressions with Latin or German terms such as “*schmatzen*” (eat with an open mouth) and “*saufen*” (drink like an animal).<sup>49</sup>

At the end, Gessner focused on one sound appropriate only to human beings. This was the “sermon,” which in this context referred to a spoken statement. Gessner briefly touched upon the onomatopoetic expressions that resulted from the sermon, such as interjections.<sup>50</sup> Overall, many of Gessner’s statements were commonsensical, and the more difficult statements were supported by the writings of classical authors—e.g., the assertion that the voice of the dolphin was very similar to the voice of men, as Pliny wrote.

If we examine the tradition of *De Anima* treatises, it is clear that Gessner’s work was structured in a distinctive way. We can see this by comparing Gessner’s text to the tenth chapter of Gregor Reisch’s *Margarita philosophica*, a much-used school compendium of the complete knowledge of the *artes liberales* including Aristotle’s *physica*, first published in 1504.<sup>51</sup> Reisch treated the vegetative and sensory abilities of the soul, devoting a few sentences to the ear in his fifteenth subchapter (see fig. 17). This work was arranged differently from Gessner’s and, for teaching purposes, took the form of a dialogue between a fictive *magister*, or teacher, and his *discipulus*, or student. The student posed a question, and the teacher answered it. In contrast, Gessner’s loci were meant as a synthesis of knowledge designed for self-study.

Gessner also kept the Aristotelian structure used by Reisch, one that separated the superordinate concepts of object (the sound), organ (the ear), and medium (air or water). However, he copied it from a source that was much closer to Aristotle—that is, the scholia commentary of Faber Stapulensis.

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vol. 26 (New York : Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1922), 51. <http://archive.org/details/encyclopaediabriz6chisrich>, accessed 13 April 2016.

49 Gessner, *De Anima*, 920, 921.

50 Ibid., 924.

51 Here used: Gregorius Reisch, *Aepitoma Omnis Phylosophiae. Alias margarita Phylosophica Tractans de omni genere scibile. Cum additionibus: quae in alijs non habentur* (Strassburg: Grüninger, 1504), ff. 218v–220r (see figure 17).

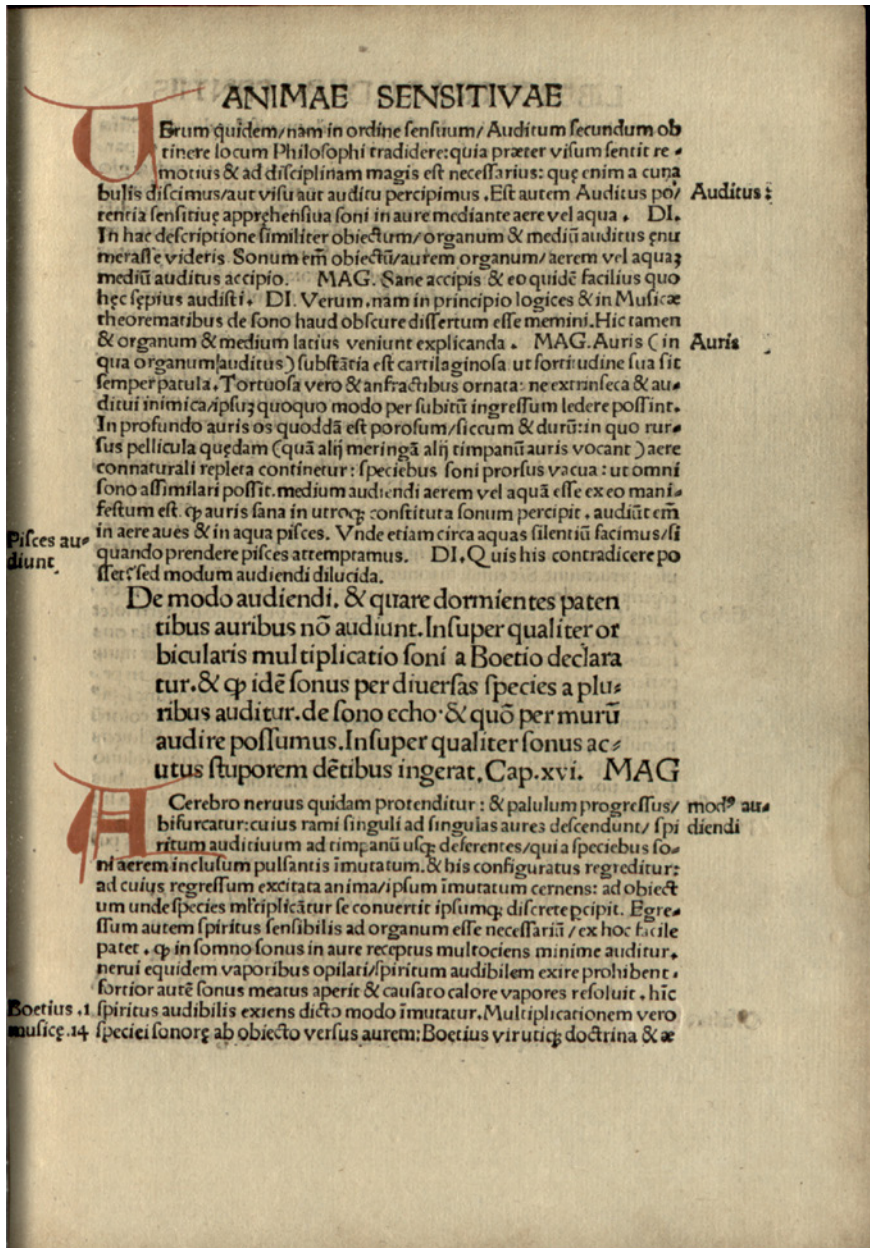


FIGURE 17 Gregorius Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Freiburg: Schott, 1503), f. 225r. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/4 Ph.u. n4; urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-2346-8; detail about the sense of hearing

Gessner and Reisch differed over the priority of the different senses. Reisch placed hearing second in his text about the external senses since he declared both hearing as well as seeing, the first-placed sense, as the most necessary for learning. In contrast, Gessner started with the tactile sense.

Gessner also took a different approach from Reisch when he described the organ itself. Although they both agreed that the ear could not be the organ of hearing because some animals do not have ears, Gessner provided a much more detailed anatomical explanation of how hearing works, spiced with the insight, knowledge, and curiosity of a professional physician. While Gessner worked with a broad range of authors, including those from the Greek commentary tradition, Reisch confined himself to two authors who served as references for the ear, the philosopher (Aristotle) and Boetius in his treatise about music.

Gessner went beyond the Aristotelian tradition followed by Reisch in developing his idea of a sermon and in elaborating general comparisons between sound and speech, which involved lists of antonyms. Thus, it appears that Gessner's *De Anima* was not a dialogue for teaching purposes but was divided into superordinate concepts and statements with subordinate lists of topics. The second part of Gessner's *De Anima*, which is treated here, did not provide direct lists of author references but included references to different authors concerning short arguments, such as Faber Stapulensis, or single sentences, as in the case of Augustine. The structure of Gessner's *De Anima* characterized the book as a collection of *loci*, but the text was not consistently dedicated to one sort of *loci* like the *Pandectae* had been. The book did not refer to Petrus Ramus's method. Even with its lists and categories, the book displayed an intellectual coherence of thought. It is also evident that the text would be comprehensible even without a parallel reading of one of the original classical texts although it cited other works by name. However, in its discussion of Aristotle, this work can be read in a similar fashion to the contemporary study of Melanchthon on *De Anima*. Both can be read as separate from the original text and lead the reader through the text by posing important questions. Gessner's *De Anima* is therefore not a work of scholia in the sense that it explained the terms of the Aristotelian text with the direct aid of lemmata quotes. Describing the book as a *repetitorium*, Gessner avoided a discussion of teaching method, without diminishing the value of the book for instruction.

### *De Anima* in Class: The Lecture Scripts

Gessner's lecture scripts on Aristotle's *De Anima* were published much later in an edition produced by his former student Caspar Wolf in 1586, that is

twenty-one years after his death.<sup>52</sup> Wolf attested to their authenticity in the preface, but we do not know whether he inserted some of his own ideas, or if he published the papers in their original order. We also do not know if Wolf used the lecture scripts in his own class, when together with Georg Keller, he succeeded Gessner in the office of professor for *physica*. He called the edition physical meditations, *Physicarum Meditationes*. They included not only one but two different approaches to Aristotle's *physica*. The second was closest to the Aristotelian text and can be read as a kind of commentary on lemmata, providing explanations of words; the first was much less concerned with Aristotle's text and stands by itself. The latter bears the closest resemblance to the textbook *De Anima* that Gessner had published in 1563, but it is not limited to a discussion of the soul. It goes through the whole of Aristotelian physics. A comparison of the textbook and the lecture scripts shows, for example, that Gessner's discussion of smell was much more elaborate in the 1563 textbook than it was in the lecture scripts. However, his account has the same structure, a sign that lecture scripts and textbooks were not far from each other; the lecture scripts may well have written before the textbook and may have been extended in the textbook.

From the works of Stefano Perfetti and Brian Ogilvie, we know that Gessner's method of presenting knowledge combined pictures with concepts that were present in the literature and separated knowledge into fields with heading terms. At the same time, Gessner sought to gain access to the object he described, using all available external senses and his reason to connect and rationalize his perception. The secondary literature often cites Gessner's experiments with his use of tobacco as an instance of his curiosity about the physical environment he inhabited.

Despite this novel approach, Gessner put his treatise *De Anima* in the tradition of Aristotelian commentary and alluded to the work of a number of authors who were closest to his own thoughts. His mode of argument emanated from the interpretation of Aristotle by the Paris professor Faber Stapulensis and was carried on by the direct contemporary of Gessner in Tübingen, Jacobus Schegk. Gessner mentioned the latter author and his work on analytics and physics in a plan he created in 1560 for a curriculum of physics, thus deliberately opposing the well-known work of Petrus Ramus, who was publicly

52 Conrad Gessner, *Physicarum Meditationum, Annotationum & Scholiorum Lib. v. Nunc recens ex variis Gesnerianae diligentiae relictis schedis et libris, studiose collecti, methodice dispositi & conscripti, per Casparum Wolphium Tigurinum Medicum*, ed. Caspar Wolf (Zürich: Froschauer, 1586).

hostile to Schegkian Aristotelian interpretations, culminating in the well published epistolary dispute between the two scholars in 1569 and 1570.<sup>53</sup>

Like Schegkian, and unlike Ramus, Gessner referred implicitly to an older medieval way of verifying the existence and function of the objects he included in his encyclopaedic collections: evidence was given by testimony, or eye witness. He strived to document by his own experience or that of a trusted source that objects were describable in the way he depicted them in his books. This approach affected all of Gessner's work, and it is surely significant that he supported this testimony by showing pictures, as Angela Fischel has recently pointed out.<sup>54</sup> I would not go so far as to say (as she does) that Gessner revolutionized natural history because the concept of natural history did not exist in his time and he did not see himself as an innovator. Indeed, pictures were already used long before Gessner as a means of argumentation and demonstration. Rather, Gessner seems to have been competing for greater accuracy with his contemporaries, such as the dolphin researcher Petrus Rondeletius. He sought a range of precise descriptions by using not only the eyes as witness but also the other external senses: taste, hear, smell, and of course, the tactile sense.

As we have seen in his textbook *De Anima*, but not in his lecture scripts, Conrad Gessner designed a hierarchy within the senses that was different from that created by Aristotle. For Gessner, the tactile sense was the most important of the senses, for two different reasons. First—and here he concurred with Aristotle—he described this sense as the most necessary and simple, common to all men and animals. Touch was the foundation of and generic term for sensitive perception. Second, Gessner made the novel assertion that the tactile sense of humans excelled the tactile sense of animals. This had to do with the skin of mankind, which was the organ of the sense. The skin was extremely sensitive to temperature. Animal ears and eyes function much better because they can hear and see at a much farther distance, but man's tactile sense excelled.<sup>55</sup>

53 Conrad Gessner, "De studiis philosophi futuri, medici praeserti, Conradi Gessneri Consideratio inchoata. 1560,"—autogr., "partly draft, partly clean copy, ZB C50a, 9, fols. 104r–108v." For the published Schegkian-Ramus dispute see Petrus Ramus, *P. RAMI || ET IACOBI SCHEGKII || EPISTOLAE, IN QUIBUS de Logicae Artis Institutione Agitur.* (s.l., 1569); and Jakob Schegkian, *IACOBI SCHEGKII SCHORNDORFENSIS Hyperaspistes Responsi, Ad Quatuor Epistolas Petri Rami Contra Se Aeditas.* (Tübingen: Morhart, 1570).

54 Angela Fischel, "Collections, Images and Form in Sixteenth-Century Natural History: The Case of Conrad Gessner," *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010): 147–64.

55 Gessner, *De Anima*, 777–78.

Gessner gave two main reasons for this view. First, in both humans and animals, the skin touches directly on the object. That means that the reach of perception is not as extensive as in the cases of seeing or hearing. On the other hand, the precision of touching is much greater because there is no other medium through which the transmission has to find its way to the sense. In his words, the *sensile* (specific object) was connected directly to the *sensus*. Gessner supported his thesis with a diagram (see figure 18). It was published in his physical meditations, edited by his former student Caspar Wolf in 1586.<sup>56</sup>

The diagram showed the soul and offered a spatial description of the hierarchy of the external senses. Unlike Aristotle's model, this explanation was connected to the physical entity and evidence of the body. The skin functions as a line of separation marking the inside and outside of the human being. The skin thus formulates an important difference between the senses of touch and taste on the inner side, and all other senses that reach beyond the body surface. Gessner's elaboration of a spatial order of the reach of the senses was a valuable starting point from which to research sixteenth-century senses and their contribution to the perception of knowledge.

Although Gessner's lecture scripts stay in the old Aristotelian order, the insertion of a diagram encouraged students to use a visual, empirical epistemology. Gessner not only provided a manual to recapitulate Aristotelian knowledge, as he claimed to with his textbook, he presented his class with an original interpretation.

### Class Instruction: Conclusion

How does this well-researched textbook fit into the curriculum of the *lectorium*, and how did the students approach it? The second generation of teachers at the Schola Tigurina had themselves also emerged from this school, and in their time as students had worked together not only with Conrad Gessner but also with Konrad Pellicanus, Heinrich Bullinger, Rudolf Collinus, Hans-Jacob Ammann, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Theodor Bibliander, to name the most important scholars active between 1532 and 1560. These former students may have adopted a common method to engage with knowledge. One feature of this method is easily explained. The citations in the minutes show that teachers preferred to work with short textbooks that abridged the contents of longer textbooks. These and other textbooks were written by the university staff and also the headmasters of the Latin schools. They were mainly

<sup>56</sup> Gessner, *Physicarum Meditationum*, book 4, 188.



Singulis circulis in centro addidimus vinculum, quo centrum quodq; cum alterius circuli circumferentia colligatur. Non enim natura vnum sunt hæ facultates, sed locis & actionibus distinctæ: & sensus separetur à phantasia, hæc à ratione, illa à mente. *Ex Gessneri inuentione.*

A. Vinculum sensus cum phantasia, in centro circuli primi, linea 1. 2. seruant sensui tactus & gustus, quia eorum actio corpori semper coniuncta, nunquam extra extenditur. 3. Olfactus longius. 4. Auditus adhuc longius. 5. Visus longissimè.

B. Vinculum sensus cum phantasia in centro circuli primi.

C. Vinculum rationis cum mente.

Sin verò subtiliorem figuram quis desideret, quæ simul & meditatio mortis quædam sit, & animæ virium distinctio posset hoc modo ingeniosè depingi, Gessnerus.



D. Supra D. ad dextram paulò pingatur angelus, qui trahat funiculo aureo (filo simplici) religato in coniunctione lineæ transuersæ cum circulo primo in ipso D. nodum, Animam rationalem.

B. Diabolus insidians, tenens & ipse funiculum, nigrum, circulo non alligatum, ad sinistram.

N. Pingatur coelum cum stellis.

K. In contactu duorum circularum fiat iterum nodus, cuius funiculus fuscus duplex trahitur ab L. infra omnes circulos descripto ad dextram. Pingatur autem eo in loco Sceleton alicuius manus insidentis phetetro, & altera manu horologium tenentis.

M. Cir.

FIGURE 18 Gessner, *Physicarum Meditationum*, p. 188, detail: diagram of the senses. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, 5.86. The senses of touch and taste are within the circle, all others have their reach beyond the circle. The circle is an abbreviation for the skin.



learned by memorization, but in all subjects students were required to formulate their own texts, to talk and to discuss, since the exams themselves were oral.

What did those former students write and publish after they had finished their period of study at the lectorium? Josias Simmler is an example of a multi-talented teacher who had studied at Zürich and Basel. He was especially gifted in astronomy, theology, and history. He wrote books in all three subjects. He also became famous for writing biographies about his colleagues, such as Vermigli and Gessner. Together with Johann Jacob Friess, he published an update of Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis*. His main work, however, was his treatise about the *Repubblica Helvetica*. This work adopted a new approach to the Swiss Confederation, its aims, the organization of its cantons, and its history. Other authors of this second generation include Johann Jacob Friess, who published a chronological work about classical authors in the form of an encyclopaedia, and Caspar Wolf, who published the yearly calendar and edited many works belonging to the vast inheritance of Conrad Gessner, such as his *Physicarum Meditationes*.<sup>57</sup>

This group published fewer books than the previous generation of teachers, many of which were updates of what had been written before, in a tradition that their own teachers had started. They were not interested in publishing textbooks at all. The textual format they used for their works was one between a textbook and a treatise, what Ann Blair defines as a reference book.<sup>58</sup> Encyclopaedic in character, these works were erudite and they presented organized knowledge. In such reference books of encyclopaedic character, *loci* were organized according to chronology, or to some other systematic criteria. Most of these handbooks introduced a historical-comparative method to discuss worldly events, such as the administration of the Swiss federal cantons. In this, they departed from their predecessor, Gessner, whose approach was not historically oriented.

The second generation of teachers at the Schola Tigurina drew a far clearer separation between textbooks and their own book production. With this, they posited at least two different sorts of readers: students with an interest in abbreviations and a canon of simplified textbooks and readers who were interested in the argument and in the collection of new historical comparative knowledge that was now easily researched with finding aids, such as *loci*.

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57 Gessner, *Physicarum Meditationum*.

58 Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 1–10.



## *Conclusion*





# The Changing Dynamics of Scholarly Information Management in Post-Reformation Zurich and its European Context

Happy is he who owes nothing.

ERASMUS (1515)<sup>1</sup>



Zurich intellectuals developed a unique system of organization that could be fitted not only to diverse fields of academic knowledge, such as physics or classical languages, but was also used for developing storage units, such as libraries, archives, and encyclopaedias. Politicians and preachers used this system to facilitate political communication and to compose sermons. Politicians used the system of keywords provided by academics such as Josias Simmler to conceptualize the relationship between political institutions; preachers used the index to explain the Bible. The scholarly practices of the lectorium in Zurich provide an ideal opportunity to study the impact of these techniques because of its rich archives and its connections to both church and town council.

My opening discussion in Part I of this book showed the significance that territory and government had for the exchange of knowledge and scholarly methods. Developments in sixteenth-century Swiss politics, education, and administration, noted down by Simmler in the 1560s, strongly emphasized the idea of the Swiss confederacy within the Swiss territories, a body that was independent from the Holy Roman Empire. Single cantons were meant to support each other via the confederacy to maintain and defend their different political systems, an important precondition for a peaceful co-existence of the major religious denominations within Switzerland.

Not only the political systems but also the reform of the educational system developed differently in each canton. Zurich started with its Prophezei originally planned by Huldrych Zwingli in 1523, and set up with the money

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<sup>1</sup> "Felix qui nihil debet," Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Prouerbiorum Chiliadas ...* (Basel: Froben, 1515), 389 [II, VII, 98].

of the Großmünsterstift beginning in 1525. Emerging from the Prophezei, the subsequently more formalized lectorium never needed to change its overall financial structures so it never needed to have a proper institutional name of its own, which makes it difficult for today's historians to count the lectorium among the academies and gymnasiums emerging in Switzerland and the Holy Roman Empire. Elsewhere, as in the foundation of the Lausanne Academy 1537, a completely new entity had to be constructed.

The Zurich school statutes—agreed upon with the town council in 1559 and enacted in 1560—combined and consolidated in an official way those internal papers of the Großmünsterstift that dated from 1532 and 1534. These statutes regulated the teaching at the lectorium and the Latin schools. They worked as both an agreement and as a reminder: an agreement between church, town, school administrators, teachers, and students and a reminder that had to be read aloud once a year before the exams. In their format as a non-printed and orally circulated document, they resembled other scribal publications, however, *printed* school regulations were the more common format in Europe.

The school regulations of 1559 acquired special significance through the school minutes, which recorded their enactment during the regular meetings of the school commission from 1560 on. Regulations were updated through semi-public discussion in the yearly *censura* and by the means of the minutes: records show that the process of evaluation was a new tool of good school administration. Linking school regulations and minutes makes clear that the act of developing a documentary record became increasingly important for the decision-making process. The importance was two-fold: first, decisions were available for consultation on later occasions, and second, the text could be emulated or altered, if necessary.

Scrutinizing the lectorium's minutes, we have seen that the decisions of the director of the school were derived from meetings and were written down after every meeting. Some of the academic directors, such as Johann Jacob Friess in 1580, made additional efforts to keep the minutes accessible and provided finding aids for minutes' decisions. The school minutes established a system of recording that resembles that of the town council minutes. In both cases, decisions were not only written down and stored away, but their place of storage became important because the citation had to be recovered later on. In this way, the old decisions served as a basis for new directives. The minutes strengthened the regulations and gave them direction. The school rule system became more complex and refined. From 1578 to 1580, Johann Jacob Friess treated the school rules for the first time as a general and reason-based ruling

instrument, and he used them systematically to argue that the school follow the traditions created by the records. The changes in administrative practices parallel changes within the schools and their methods of learning. In both cases, indexed compendia became customary and standardized.

Zurich pedagogy was independent of its different outside sources despite drawing on the hierarchies, values, and judgments of other institutions. Textbooks were rearranged into a Zurich style. The new ideas incorporated into teaching were comparable to those at Wittenberg and Strasbourg although the teaching from both places was not directly copied, but rather refurbished, adapted to the new situation, and emulated according to local standards.

At the lectorium, students primarily learned Latin. They were taught to write well-phrased letters and to read and explain the different editions and translations of the Bible. The language studies of Greek and Hebrew prepared them for biblical interpretation. Moreover, Latin and Greek also enabled students to take part in European intellectual life by communicating with other scholars and reading Latin and Greek books. The presence of *physica* in the curriculum was enhanced by the personal interest of Conrad Gessner and the prominence of his encyclopaedic publications.

Zurich pedagogy was the result of a complex interaction of forces. As can be seen in its incorporation of *physica*, the Zurich Lectorium mediated between traditional humanistic values, the values of a renewed faith, and goals dictated by the tasks that the students were expected to assume after they had finished school. (Those who accepted a scholarship also agreed at the same time that they would go on to serve the church.) Long sojourns at other institutes of higher learning—usually a combination of two or three universities in and outside of the Holy Roman Empire during one to four years—helped students, especially those with a scholarship from the church, to complete their studies.

The topics and style of publications of the Zurich professors became more independent from the materials that they taught over time. While the first generation of professors aimed at building a foundational corpus of textbooks and laying out and explaining the biblical books in their entirety, the second generation was keen to delve into new subjects, such as mathematics, physics, and comparative classical and Bible studies.

The pattern and dynamics of scholarly information management in Zurich higher education can be interpreted in a number of ways. Since the Zurich Lectorium developed in a political environment different from that of the gymnasia and academies of the Holy Roman Empire, it is difficult to apply to Zurich the theoretical paradigm of confessionalization that Heinz Schilling

and Wolfgang Reinhard have developed since the 1970s.<sup>2</sup> Their “paradigm of confessionalization,” which posits structural parallels between Catholic and Reformed regimes, depends on a particular political system within towns in which religious faith was determined by the government, usually by the ruling family. But Zurich did not have a ruling prince and was characterized by a system of negotiations between council and church, both traditional and solid institutions.<sup>3</sup> Thus, making, collecting, keeping and negotiating rules, regulations, and laws had a much more immediate connection to the daily decisions that institutions needed to make.<sup>4</sup>

The interpretation preferred here is one that emphasizes generational change. Why did the introduction and enactment of the new school regulation of 1559/1560 initiate a more rigorous attitude toward the clarification, enforcement, and creation of rules, together with a greater administrative effort? (It seems to be similar to the efforts of 1523 in Zurich to reorganize the town government by writing down the new statutes and regulations. In both cases, writing new rules became mandatory.) New students at the Zurich schools were inculcated with the idea of organizing their studies and planning their career. At the same time, they learned in school to take notes carefully, writing down what they read and heard from their teachers. The professors who were part of

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- 2 Heinz Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft—Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas,” in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung: wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 198 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1995), 2.
  - 3 Holenstein “Politische Geschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft,” 58, classifies the confessionalized state according to Schilling and Reinhard as absolutistic, however he states that Swiss historians would deny that Switzerland fits this bill. Holenstein would rather use the term “paternalistic” (ibid., p. 61), to characterize especially the later Ancien Régime in Switzerland, because the authorities deliberately relinquished their power.
  - 4 Political communication did not only determine local politics, it was also crucial for the negotiations between the confederate states. See Loetz, “Bridging the Gap: Confessionalisation in Switzerland,” 75–97, and Hacke, “Church, Space and Conflict.” Both write about the “simultaneum” in Swiss bi-confessional provinces, when two opposing confessions had to share the same church building for their church service. Loetz values this religious co-existence as intertwining territory that leads to forms of tolerance and interchange. Hacke scrutinizes how political communication helps to negotiate confessional differences within the Swiss Confederation at the beginning of the 17th century. See also Würigler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen*, who emphasizes the function of communication of the inter-confederate gremium “Tagsatzung” that met twice per year.



the first generation, the pioneers of the Reformation, had nobody to tell them how to abbreviate their studies in order to reach a goal but had to set goals for themselves. Their biographies testify to abundant but not strictly regulated methods of study and varied reading practices. They taught their students what they judged as didactically valuable.

In the second generation of school teachers that started in the time of Peter Martyr Vermigli, students who had grown up in and had come to accept a new atmosphere of organized learning were recruited to teach. They, in their turn, made careers within this system. By improving school administration, the students applied exactly the method they had learned. This freed the professors to pursue new interests that went beyond the curriculum.

If this change of generations explains the denser, more organized approach toward practices of institutionalized scholarship, can it be seen elsewhere? Amy Burnett, in her book *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and their Message in Basel, 1529–1629*, examines the practices and backgrounds of ministers in Basel, emphasizing their gradual professionalization as a group of ministers from one generation to the next.<sup>5</sup> But schooling plays only a small part in her story, which focuses primarily on ministers after their education.

In my examination of the Zurich case, I have adopted a different approach, one that sees the processes of intellectual and religious formation not only as continual professionalization from one generation to the next of Reformers, but as shaped by and dependent upon the organization of the school itself. I argue that institutional mechanisms—the methods and practices by which information was assembled, organized, and disseminated—created a distinctive ethos and order, which then provided the basis for time off that the professors dedicated to explorations into new and comparative areas of research. The institutional order created a few intellectual open spaces that made it possible for the classically trained humanist teachers of the lectorium to take part in general discussions of the European Republic of letters.

Modes of collecting and circulating that connect archives, governments and schools have been little studied for the sixteenth century. But the Zurich Lectorium is a perfect case study because it was connected to many different archives. Apart from the obvious church and town archives that historians, such as Josias Simmler, used for their studies, many individuals—such as Reformers, professors, and administrators—collected papers in their own private archives that were connected with the Reformation.

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5 Cf. Amy N. Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation, Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 261–87.

Wolfgang Haller, the administrator of the Zurich Stift and director of the lectionarium in 1563, was a keen organizer of both institutional and private data. He headed the Grossmünster Stift reorganization starting in 1555, especially the financial side of the Stift, but he also accumulated other sorts of data. The Central Library Zurich is in possession of his meticulous weather documentation over a period of twenty years in a collection of annual calendars. From 1553 to 1576, Haller filled in weather conditions day-by-day and line-by-line in the preprint.<sup>6</sup> There are two possible explanations for his research, one practical,

6 Wolfgang Haller, "[Annotations]," in the following twenty-four books at Central Library Zurich (Zentralbibliothek), which are hard to find, because their titles and authors alter during the years: *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel uff das Jar M.D.LIII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1552); Jacob Ruf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel uff das Jar M.D.LIIII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1553); Jacob Ruf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel uff das Jar M.D.LV.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1554); Jacob Ruf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel uff das Jar M.D.LVI.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1555); Jacob Ruf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel uff das Jar M.D.LVII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1556); Jacob Ruf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel uff das Jar M.D.LVIII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1557); Jacob Ruf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LIX.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1558); Valentin Butzlin, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LX.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1559); Valentin Butzlin, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXI.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1560); Valentin Butzlin, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1561); Valentin Butzlin, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXIII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1562); Caspar Wolf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXIII.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1563); Caspar Wolf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXV.* (Zurich: Froschauer d.J., 1564); Caspar Wolf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXVI.* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1565); Valentin Butzlin, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXVII.* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1566); Caspar Wolf, *Lassbüchlin sampt der Schrybtafel, Mässen und Jarmarckten, uffs Jar M.D.LXVIII.* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1567); Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mässen und Jarmärckten uff das M.D. und LXIX. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1568); Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mässen und Jarmärckten uff das M.D. und LXX. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1569); Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mässen und Jarmärckten uff das M.D. und LXXI. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1570); Valentin Butzlin, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mäseu [i.e. Mässen] und Jarmärckten uff das M.D. und LXXII. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1571); Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mässen und Jarmärckten uff das M.D. und LXXIII. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1572); Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mässen und Jarmärckten uff das M.D. und LXXIIII. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1573); Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Mässen und Jarmärckten uff das M.D.LXXV. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1574);

the other philosophical. He may have wanted to use his observations to predict the yearly wine and grain harvest, and therefore the prices that wine and grain might get, upon which the richness and budget of the Grossmünster Stift relied. Like some contemporary astronomers, he may also have been interested in the relationship between the weather and the constellation of the heavens.

Some of these older private collections were subsequently given to the public library in Zurich. They included the mass of letter collections that the Reformers initiated. Among these, Gessner's cut-out notes from letters and books that he then used as sources for his encyclopaedias are well-known.<sup>7</sup>

A lesser known source are the letter collections that document the events of the reformation. As early as 1536, compatriots published a collection of letters of the Reformers Johannes Oecolampadius and Huldrych Zwingli to explain the origins of the reformed belief.<sup>8</sup> Much later, in 1848, the Reverend Hastings Robinson wrote in his introduction to *The Zurich Letters, or The Correspondence of Several English Bishops ... with some of the Helvetian Reformers, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*,

The first object of attention in the town library of Zurich is the Simler collection of the correspondence of the Swiss Reformers. This was made by the late John Jacob Simler, (a descendant of the Josiah Simler [Josias Simmler] so frequently mentioned in the Zurich Letters,) superintendent of schools in the Canton of Zurich, who died 5 August 1788.<sup>9</sup> He appears to have examined with great accuracy all of the collections of letters, manuscript and printed, public and private, within his reach. He copied fully 18,000 letters with his own hand, arranged them all chronologically,

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Caspar Wolf, *Kalender oder Laassbüchli sampt der Schreybtafel, Müssen und Jarmärckten uff das M. D. LXXVI. Jar* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1575).

- 7 See for example ZB Zurich, MS C 50a, and MS S 204a, f. 88r, the latter published in Urs B. Leu, Conrad Gessner (1516–1565): *Universalgelehrter und Naturforscher der Renaissance*, p. 109.
- 8 Johannes Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli, Theodor Bibliander, Simon Grynaeus, Wolfgang Capito, and Oswald Myconius, DD. [Doctores] *Ioannis Oecolampadii Et Huldrici Zwinglii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor, Praecipua Cum Religionis à Christo Nobis Traditae Capita, Tum Ecclesiasticae Administrationis Officia, Nostro Maxime Seculo, Tot Hactenus Erroribus Perturbato, Convenientia, Adamussim Experimentes: Opus Cumprimis Eruditum Ac Pium, Renatique Evangelii Studiosis Apprime Necessarium, Nunc Denique Primum in Lucem Editum: Ad Haec Scriptorum Io. Oecolampadii Et Huldrici Zwinglii Purgatio* (Basel: Thomas Platter and Balthasar Lasius, 1536).
- 9 Robinson is referring to the decendent of Josias Simmler (1530–76), who is cited in this book. Contemporary documents spell his name also Josiah Simler, or Simlerus.

and at the head of each noted the collection, volume, and page in which the original is to be found. The whole work extends to nearly 200 folio volumes, of which 140 are occupied by the period AD 1530–1600. This collection, therefore, formed a most accurate guide to the collections of originals in the archives and library at Zurich, Strasburgh [Strasbourg], and Berne, and the libraries at Basle [Basel], Zofingen, Geneva, St Gall, and Schaffhausen.<sup>10</sup>

The Zurich tradition of careful archiving and organization seems to have survived into the eighteenth century. The tradition can even be seen to continue today. The Bullinger-Briefwechsel edition, which was first projected in 1900 but is still on-going, has collected from these archives all of the letters written or received by Heinrich Bullinger.<sup>11</sup>

We can see that in Zurich there is a well-established tradition of accumulating and organizing data about the church, town, and school. But what is needed is an analysis of how these different practices of data accumulation affected the history of Zurich politics, education, and erudition. In this study, I have applied recent insights into how systems of recording, record keeping, and the organization of information operated in the early modern era in order to uncover the processes by which pedagogy and scholarship changed in Zurich.

The findings invite comparisons with other research on the history of archives and archiving methods. By pointing to late medieval and early modern developments in the governmental archives of Lucerne, Grison and Zurich, Simon Teuscher and Randolph Head have suggested a chronology of archival organizing systems in the Swiss Confederation. According to Teuscher, until the end of the 15th century documents were organized and memorized for their materiality and the events surrounding their conception, while around 1500 a new order was established connecting documents topically with other documents.<sup>12</sup> Both Teuscher and Head describe the new system, using a descriptive keyword that Peter Rück had coined in 1971, as ideal-topographical, thus the archive is a

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10 Hastings Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters, or The Correspondence of Several English Bishops ... and Others, with Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), vi.

11 Accessed 5 April 2016, Universität Zürich, Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, "Heinrich Bullinger-Briefwechsleedition," <http://www.irg.uzh.ch/de/hbbw/geschichte.html>.

12 Teuscher, "Document Collections."

mirror, an ideal plan of governmental spacial organization.<sup>13</sup> Scrutinizing the Lucerne archive, Head adds that in the second half of the 17th century, the governmental archivists rendered this order even more functional by dividing the archive into an Old and New Archive, and then, by using keywords and cross-referencing the documents of the New Archive with an index, thereby losing the topographical architecture of the older order. The new archive was comparable to an encyclopaedia that needed a broad index. It was designed to extract the information from the documents, and help readers easily to find the documents that corresponded to the requests.

Within the context of this interest in information management, Friess's index (1580) of the Zurich lectorium minutes might have been an early attempt to view archival documents exactly as they are referred to and organized a hundred years later in Lucerne, as political information that needed to be extracted and cross-referenced. The Zurich school administration practiced methods of organisation derived from the specific scholarly training of the involved lecturers. This change introduced a new era of interpreting political archives. The attitude of implementing organizing methods developed in school had a parallel in late medieval times, as Simon Teuscher showed:<sup>14</sup> University scholasticism of the thirteenth and fourteenth century developed categorization methods that helped form the new ideal-topographical method of archival order that was then implemented in political archives of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup>

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13 Head, "Knowing like a state," 746; Head, "Mirroring Governance," 322; Teuscher, "Document Collections," 215. Both refer to Peter Rück, "Die Ordnung der herzoglich savoyischen Archive unter Amadeus VIII. (1398–1451)," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 67 (1971): 11–101, pp. 92, 101.

14 Teuscher, "Document Collections," 216–24.

15 Zurich provides a valuable case study for research into the 16th century intertwining of learned culture and lay culture, see Backus, "Reformation Culture," 568.



## APPENDICES

### *Academic Directors, Teachers and Students at the Lectorium*







## List of Academic Directors at the Grossmünster Stift Given in the Preface of the School Minutes

(School Minutes, StAZ, E II 458, f. 1r–4v. Transcription: Emmanuela Chiapparini and Anja-Silvia Goeing [ASG])

[List in preface, f. 1r]

Dieser Band der Acta scholastica 1560–92. / Mscr. F. 102 // ist gemäß dem Beschlusse der Bibliothek-Conventur // vom 7. März 1878 an das hiesige Staatsarchiv // zur Completierung der in dessen Besitze be= // findlichen Serie abgetreten worden. //

Zürich, 16. März 1878. // Namens der Stadtbibliothek // der Oberbibliothekar // Dr J. Horner

[List in preface, f. 2r]

[Column 1]

Schulherren zu Zürich. //

1. H. Hans Jacob Ammianus professor // der Latinschen sprach, Dialecticae // unnd Rhetoricae, uom Jar Christi // 1537. biss uff 1560. // H. Hans Wolff pfarer zum fromünster // ward gwelt Anno 1560. // H. Rodolff Walther pfar. S. peter. 1561. [Rudolf Gwalther] // H. Ludwig Lavater predic. am gstift 1562. // H. Wolffgang Haller Verwalter am gstift 1563. // H. Josias Simler profess. der heil. schrift 1564. [in the next column, at the same hight next to this entry is added: Ist der fest so uff Zwey Jahr geordnet.] // H. Wolffgang Haller Verwalter II. 1566. // D. Georg Keller profess. der physica 1568. // D. Caspar Wolff profess. der physica 1570. // H. Rudolff Funnk pahrrhelffer zum frowmünster 1572. // II. M. Burkart Leeman pred. zum predigern 1574. // H. Hans Wilhelm Stuky profess. der hei= // ligen schrift 1576 // H. Hans Jacob Friess profess der heili= // gen schrift 1578.

[Column 2]

Vom Schulherren Ambt

schrybt M. Heinr. Bullinger

in seiner Chronik

Damit auch gute ordnungen ange- // richt und im wäsen behalten wordind, // ist von anfang ein uffsäher über die // Schul und Lecturen, der Schulherr // genembt geordnet.

Und was der // erst Scholarcha M. Ulrich Zwingli, // in diser Reformation. Dem volget uff // synen Tod in dem 1532 Jahr, M. // Heinrich Bullinger. Der ward aber // uff syn flyssig bätten, und von [wegen?] // seiner vielfaltigen gshäfftten und arbeit // des ampts güthlich von Vflägeren // und Capitel erlassen, und ward an // syn statt geordnet 22. Nouemb. des // 1537. unsers H. Johans Jacob // Aman, welcher dis ambt verwalten // hat, bis die neüen Ordnung ange- // sehen worden, das zu aller Jars unsers // ein Schulher // solle nur in // welt werden. //

[List in preface, f. 2v]

[Column 1: empty]

[Column 2]

H. Ludwig Lavater predicant am gstiftt 11. 1580. // M. Burckhart Leeman. p. zum predigern. 11 1582. // H. Wilhelm Stucki prof. der // H. Schrift. 11. 1584. // Doct. jorg. Keller professor // der physica. 11. 1586. // H. felix Trüeb predic. am gstiftt 1588. // M. Rudolff Wirt predic. am gstiftt 1590. // H. Doctor Caspar Vuolff Graece linguae // professor 1592. // 21. H. Rudolph Körner pfar. zu // S. Peter 1594. // H. Märkus Beumler predicant am // Gstift unn professor. 1596. // M. Rudolff Wirtt pfarrer zum // frauwen Münster. 1598. // H. Doctor Heinrich Lavater professor // Physicus 1601. // H. Rudolff Körner pfarherr zu // St. Peter 1603. // H. Marcus Beümler Graecae Lin // guae professor 1605. // H. Rodolphus Simlerus D.M. Professor // Logicus 1607. // 1608. // Caspar Waserus, professor linguae // Graecae et Hebraicae 1609. // 1610. // D. Henricus Ernius professor 1611 // 1612. // D. Casparus Muserus verbi Divini minister. 1613 // 1614 // 31. M. Jacobus Huldricus, Professor Linguae Graecae. 1615 // 1616 // D. Caspar Waserus, professor. Theol. 11. 1617 // 1618. // Jo. Rod. Lavaterus Professor. ---- // 1619 // D. Joannes Holtzhalbuis pastor ad predicat. 1620 // 22 // D. Jo. Jacobus Irmingerus pastor ad S. Petri. 1622 // 24 // D. Oswaldus Avarius v. Div. minister 1625 // 26 // Henricus Huldricus Prof. Graecus 1627. et 162 // 8 //

[List in preface, f. 3r]

[The order of columns is disrupted four times by marginal notes.]

[Column 1]

D. Iodocus à Kusen, Prof. Artium- [Marginal: der 40. Huldr. Zwinglis et // Henr. Bullinger con- // numeratis.] // Logicae. 1629. // D. Rodolphus Suarzenbachius, Pastor Abbatisan. 1630. // D. Joh. Casparus Lauaterus, M.D. // Prof. Phys. 1632. // Joh. Rodolphus Stuckius, Artium [Marg.: 41. // ward Scholarcha 26. jar] // Logic. Prof. 1634. // H. Foelix Wissius, Pfahrer // bim frauwmünster, Intendens // der undren Schul, Pfläger am // Almusen und Ehe= Richter // am S. Vffartstag 31. Maij 1660. [Margin: 1560 ward auch ein Pfarrer zum Frauenmünster, H. Johann // Wolff, zum Schulherr erwelt.] // Joh. Henricus Hottinger. S Th. Doctor // und Prof. Conter[...] 1662 // Johannes. Henricus

Zellerus. S. Theologia // Professor 1667. // Joh. Henricus Heideggerus // SS. Theol. D. et Professor. 1670. [Margin: ...] D. Joh. Casparus Svicerus Lingg: Graecae et Heb. // Professor. 1673. // D. Conradus Burkhardus, Pastor ad Prae= // dicat. 1675. // D. Johannes Lavaterus Artium Logic. // Professor. 1677. // Johannes Müllerus SS. Theologicae Pro- // fessor Publicus & Scholae Carolinae Intendens 1679. // Petrus Fueslinus. Pastor ad // D. Petri. 12. Maij. 1681. // der 52. und der 7te von // St. Petrus Kirch. Intendens // Scholae Abbatissanae. //

[List in preface, f. 3v]

[Column 1]

51. Johannes Jacobus Schaedlerus // Tigurinae. in AE de Abbatissana Pastor, // et Intendens Scholae Abbatiss.; Scholarch // uno et [...] designatum d. 12 Maij Anno // 1683 denominaste magnif. Dn. Consule Joh. Casparo Hirzelio. // 52. Joh. Casparus Wolphius, SS. Theol. // Prof. publicus. designatus die 13. Maii 1686. // 53. Joh. Jacobus Gesnerus. in Templo // Caroli Archidiaconus. Intendens // schola Abbatissana, Scholarcha omnium suffragys designatus, // die 20. May. Anno 1689. Deno- // minante Ampliss. D. Consule. Joh. // Casparo Hirzilio. // 54. D. Joh. Henricus. Suizerus Gr. // Ling. Prof. Intendens Scholae et // Collegio Carolini, Scholarcha desig // natus Festo Schiech. D. et S.N.J.C. Anno 1692: // 55. Joh. Rodolphus Simlerus. V.D. Adm. // Carol. Intendens Sch. et Colleg. Sup. // Eleemos. Curator, Scholarcha designatus // Feria 2. Pent. 26. Maji. 1694. denomi= // nante Ampliss. Do. Consule JOH. HENR. // ESCHERO. // 56. D. Joh. Henricus Zellerus Pastor Abbatis. // et Colleg. Eiusd. Intendens. design. 1696. // 57. D. Joh. Rodolphus Ottius Artium Profess. // et Sch. Abbatiss. Intend. design. 1699. // 58 Joh. Jacobus Hottingerus. St. Th. Profess. [Margine, etwas nach below gerutscht: der Artes] // Sch. Abbat. Intend. design. 1702. // 59 Petrus. Zellerus Eccl: Abbat: Pastor // Sch: Abbat: intend: design: 1705. // 60 Casparus Hoffmeisterus Intendens et Linguae // Graecae Professor Publ: // 61. Joh: Ludouicus Neüschelerus: Pastor Petri- // nus der von St Peter et [...] designatus // in conventu extraordinario. d. 16: Octobr: // 1710. // 62 Joh. Jacobus Hottingerus S. Th Prof. // iteratum Scholarcha, design. Postr. // Penta 1713. //

[Column 2]

63. Conradus Wirtz. Archidiac: // et Schol: Carol: Intendens. // electus d. 21. Maij. Ipso Ascens. // festo. 1716. und Ver- // walter d. Stifft. d. 24. Maij 1717. // 64 Johannes Jacobus Lauaterus, d St. // Theologia Professor. Ab anno 1717–1719. // 65. Joh. Henricus Huldricus // Pastor Abbatissanus. electus // ipso Ascensionis festo. 1719. // 66. Johannes Baptista Ottius Archi- // Diaconus in Templo Carolino, // d. 14. Maji. 1722. denomi- // nante // Amplissimo Consule Domino Joh: // Jacobo Eschero. // 67. Joh: Jacobus Heideggerus. // Pastor ad Spiritum S. ad // Ascensionis Festis electus, ab // eodem Ampl.

Consule de no= // minatus. Anno 1724. // 68. Daudid Holzhalbuis Logi- // carum Artium Profess. publ. // Scholae Carol. Intendens, Electus, // ab Cod. Ampliss. Consuler denominatus, // d. 10. Maij, ipso Ascens. Festo. 1725. // 69 Johannes Rodolphus Cramerus, S.S. // Theol. Prof. P. et Schol. Carol. Intend. // [...] Scholarcha electus d. 6. Maji 1728. // ipso Ascens. Festo, denominante Eodem // Magnificentiss. Consule Eschero. // 70. Joannes Conradus Wirzius, Aedis Caro= // linas Archidiaconus, festo Adscensionis Christi // electus, designante Amplissimo quaestori Joan // Conrado Eschero, Anno 1731. // 71. Joh. Henr. Frisius Past. Petrini // Fest. ascens. anno. 1739. // 72. Joh. Casparus Müllerus, Ecclesia Abbatissana // Pastor et Schol. Carol. Intendens, electus ipso // Ascensionis Christi Festo; denominante Magnifi- // centiss. D. Consule JOH. HENR. HIRZELIO A. 1734 //

[List in preface, f. 4r]

73. Joh. Henr. Hirzelius // L. Graecae prof. publ et Scho- // lae Carol. intendens designante // Consule Amplissimo Joh. Henrico Hirzelio ad. Fest. // ascensionis anno. 1736. // 74. David Lauaterus, Professor // Philosophiae, et Collegii Carolini Prae= // positus. designatus in Conventu anni= // versario Festi Ascensionis JC A. 1739 // 75 Andreas Heideggerus, Pastor ad // Spiritum Sanctum. designatus A. 1741. in eodem Conventu. // 76. Io. Jacobus Lavaterus, Jacobi Filius, // Johannis Nepos. Professor S. Theologia N.T. // designatus A. 1742 in Conventu Ascen= // sionis JC. Usque ad eundem anniver= // sarium Conventum Anni 1745. // 77. Joh. Jacobus Zimmermannus prof. // Theologiae designatus A. 1745 // festo ascensionis J.C. // 78. Johannes Gesnerus Med. Doct. Phys. // et Mathes. Prof. designatus Anno 1747. // 79. Joh. Georgius Hirzelius ArchiD. // in Templo Carolino designatus in // Conventu Annivers. fest. Ascens. 1748. // 80. Beatus Wertmillerus, ArchiD. in Templo // Carol. secundus. designatus. 1749. Obiit ead. anno. // 81. J. Casparus Huldricus, Eccl. Abbatiss. Pastor. // designatus ut succederet in locum Beati- // Antecessoris. 1750. // 82. Jo. Jacobus Breitingerus, Ling: Grae. Prof. // rite designatus anno 1751. in Conventu anni= // versario. ipso S. Ascens. Festo. Usque // ad eund: anniv. Conv. Anni 1755. // 83. Io. Gaspar Hagenbuchius, Prof. Linguar. Gr. et // Lat. in Coll. Hum. et Capituli Turicensis Canonius // cus, ab VIII. Idus Maias, seu sacro Ascensionis // 1. Cti. festo, a. 1755. // 84. Joh. Rodolfus Galizius, Archidiaconus in Templo Garo- // vio, designatus in conventu anniversario ipso S. Ascensio- // nis Christi Festo. anno 1758. // Georg. Christoph. Toblerus. Past. ad Spir. S. // in eodem solemnii Conventu electus, Ascens. Festo. // Anno. 15. Mai. 1760. //

[Column 2]

86. Matthias Stumpfius [...] // [...] 1761 [...] // 87. Joh. Henricus Hirzelius Henrici Filius // S. Theol. Prof. designatus Anno 1759. Scholarcha Anno 1762 // usque ad [...] obiit; [...]

// 88. JOH. JACOBUS CARMERUS RODOLFI felicis sucessor // Prof. Theol. die Pentecost: 1763. [...] Schola d. 21. novembre // 1764. // 89. Joh. Jacob: Huldricus Jac. // Edil: S. Th. Profess: design; in-Locu, St. Hirzelii Anno: 1764. Rec- // Foratum [...] opera incepit. // ad Examen. [...] Aluminate 1766., ad quod // ven. Cramerus gravissimo morbo impli- // cari coeperat A. vero 1767. Sacra A- // scensionis Festo ad ipsum Rectoratum ad- // mot est, illumque pro uiri [...] gessit usque // ad Veijusd. Festa Ferias A: 1770. // 90. v. potius 92: Joan: Gaspar Pfenningerus; // Pastor Abbatissanus. designatus Rector ipso // // Ascensionis Festo, Anni, 1770: hoc munere // functus ad eundem diem Festum: 1772. // 91. v. potius 93. J. Jacobus Breitingerus, Ling. graeca Prof. in Conventu universario ipso S. Ascensionis Festo anno 1772. denuo fasus // Scholarcha sibi imponi passus est, in ipso illo reformanda ac // restaurandae scholae nostrae gravissimo momento, cujus ipse // auctor et promotor primarius erat: hoc gravi munere // Senex indefessus de- functus est atque ad eundem diem festum anni 1715. // 92. v. potius 94. Casparus Hes- sius, prof. Philosophia // et Colleg. Carolini Erapositus. Intendens inde a morte Clariss. // Felicij orellii, a 1773. designatus in Conventu anniversario // ipso ascensionis J.C. Festo a. 1775. usque ad eundem diem anno 1777. // 93. v. potius 95. Casparus Meyerus. S. Theol. Prof. [...] // electus die S. Maji 1777. in Ipso ascensionis Festo habito // conventu anniversario, denominante Erafide spectatissimo ac // ampliss. Henrico orellio, sua [...] defuncto. // 94. u: potius 96. Io: Jacobus Escherus, Archidia // diaconus in Templo Carol: primus, designatus // Anno: 1780 in Conventu anniversario ipso Ascen- // sionis Festo. // 95 u: potius 97. Io: Georgius Cerius, Ecclesia Ab- // batiss: Pastor, electus Anno 1782 ipso [...] Christi Festo, in Conventu aniversario, [...] // unicum annum ab adultam aetatem //

[List in preface, f. 4v]

[Column 1]

98. Jo. Jacobus Steinbrycheliu ling. graec. Prof. a festo // ascens. 1783. usque ad 1787. // 99. Joannes Toblerus, templi Carol. Archidiacon ab anno 1787. usque ad 1789. // 100. Henricus Raduius, Prof. Phys. et Math: ab anno 1789 us- // que ad 1791. // 101. Io Casp. Lavaterus. templi Petr. Pastor. ab anno 1791 usque ad 1793. // 102. Felix Nyschelerus, S. Theol. Prof. ab anno 1793. usque // ad 1796. // 102. Io. Christoph. Toblerus S. Theol. Prof. ab anno 1796. usque ad 1800. // 103. Io Jac. Hottingerus, ling. Graec. Prof. ab anno 1800. // usque ad 1802. // 104. Casparus Orellius, Philos. prof. ab anno 1802 usque 1804. //

Teachers Named in the School Minutes

TABLE 2      *Entries of staff lists in the Lectorium minutes*

74av	28 April 1566	List of professors and students of the Lectorium (new elected administrative director: Wolfgang Haller)
74.8 r and v	c. 13 April 1567	List of professors, schoolmasters and students of the Lectorium (the same elected administrative director)
103r	2 May 1568	List of professors and schoolmasters (new elected administrative director: Georg Keller)
112r	24 April 1569	List of professors and schoolmasters (the same elected administrative director)
121v	after 26 April 1571	List of professors, schoolmasters, and advanced students who helped with teaching ( <i>provisores, collaboratores</i> ), and enrolled students (elected administrative director since 1570: Caspar Wolf)
194v-12 to 195v-14	without a date, after 13 April 1578	List of Zurich ministers and professors ('Verordnete zur Lehr'), that also contains some of the mentioned ministers and professors paid by the Stift (new elected administrative director after 13 April: Johann Jacob Friess)

TABLE 3      *Table with names of staff in list entries from table 2 (modern spelling)*

Identification as	1566	1567	1568	1569	1571	1578
Professors of the Old Testament	Josias Simmler, Johannes Wolf	Josias Simmler, Johannes Wolf	Josias Simmler, Johannes Wolf	Josias Simmler, Johannes Wolf	Josias Simmler, Wilhelm Stucki	Wilhelm Stucki, Johann Jacob Friess
Professor of the New Testament	Huldrichus Zwingli	Huldrichus Zwingli	Huldrich Zwingli	Huldrich Zwingli	Heinrich Bullinger	n/a

Professors of logic and dialectic, also: rhetoric	Hans-Jacob Ammann	Hans-Jacob Ammann	Hans-Jacob Ammann	Hans-Jacob Ammann, Johannes Wilhelm Stucki	Hans-Jacob Ammann, Hans Johann Jacob Friess	Hans Jacob Wick
Professor of Greek	Rudolph Collinus	Rudolph Collinus	Rudolph Collinus	Rudolph Collinus	Rudolph Collinus	Caspar Wolf
Professor or lecturer of Hebrew	Burkhard Leemann	Burkhard Leemann	Burkhard Leemann	Burkhard Leemann	Felix Trüb	n/a
Professors of physics	Georg Keller, Caspar Wolf	Georg Keller, Caspar Wolf	Georg Keller, Caspar Wolf	Georg Keller, Caspar Wolf	Georg Keller, Caspar Wolf	Georg Keller
Schoolmaster at the upper Latin school (plus provisor)	n/a	Hans Frieß (Hans Jacob Ulrich)	Hans Frieß (Hans Jacob Ulrich)	Hans Frieß (Hans Jacob Ulrich)	Hans Frieß (Hans Jacob Ulrich)	Hans Frieß, Jacob Wick is minister and superintendent of the upper school.
Schoolmaster at the lower Latin school (plus provisor)	n/a	Rudolph Collinus the younger (Felix Engelhart)	Rudolph Collinus the younger (Felix Engelhart)	Rudolph Collinus the younger (Felix Engelhart)	Rudolph Collinus the younger (Felix Engelhart)	n/a
Minister at the Stift	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Ludwig Lavater
Minister	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Rudolf Gwalther, Burkhard Leemann minister at the Predigern church and at the Hospital. [Mentioned:] H. Rudolf Funnck at Fraumünster church, Heinrich Bullinger the young at St. Peter

## Auditors Named in the School Minutes

TABLE 4 *Names of auditors of the Lectorium listed in the Lectorium minutes [modern spelling of their names and length of their stay in square brackets, when known]*

No.	1566	1567	1571
1	Adamus Vueker [Waeber] (sent to Basel) [1568]		
2	Samuel Hochholzer (sent to Basel) [1574]		
3	Steffanus Aberle (sent to Basel) [1569]		
4	Iohannes Därer (Basel)		
5	Iohan. Heinr. Locher (sent to Basel) [1569]		
6	Rodolphus Guerb [1569]	Rodolphus Guerb (sent to Basel) [1569]	
7	Huldrichus Notz [1570]	Huldrichus Notz [1570]	
8	Foelix Wijß [1569]	Foelix Wijß (Basel) [1569]	
9	Iohan. Hein. Fabricius. <i>kam gen basel</i> [Schmid 1575?]		
10	Osualdus Grob [1573]	Osualdus Grob [1573]	
11	Iodocus Lindouer [Jost Lindauer, 1571]	Iodocus Lindower [Jost Lindauer, 1571]	
12	Heinrichus Schörli [1569]	Heinrichus Schörli (sent to Bern) [1569]	
13	Iohan. Hein. Häginer [1569]	Johan Heinr. Häginer (sent to Bern) [1569]	
14	Heinrichus Buman. <i>Er zog gan basel</i> [1569]		
15	Foelix Muggler [1571]	Ioan. Foelix Muggler [1571]	
16	Baptista a Salicibus [Rhetus]	Baptista à Salicibus Rhe- tus (Peregrinus)	
17	Baptista Tscharner [Rhetus]	Baptista Tscharner Rhetus (Peregrinus)	



No. 1566	1567	1571
18	Baptista Thomas [Rhetus]	
19	Augustinus Vogt Scahusianus	
20	Iohannes Jacobus Fabri- cius von Stein [1576]	Joh. Jacob. Fabritius [1576]
21		Iacobus Finsler (from up- per school) [1570]
22		Rodolphus Körner (from upper school) [1571]
23		Johan. Jacobus Hallerus (from upper school) [1571]
24		Nicolaus Wüst (from up- per school) [1571]
25		Joachinus Mörikofer (from upper school) [1570]
26		Jacobus Hirsgartner (from upper school) [1571]
27		Johannes Müsch (from upper school)
28		Sadrachus Thoman (from lower school)
29		Heinrichus Vuolfius (from lower school) [1578]
30		Johannes Zubler (from lower school)
31		Johannes à Foussigny Pateniacensis (Peregrinus)
32		Hyppolitus Debouns (Peregrinus)
33		Nicolaus Ölerus Biennen- sis (Peregrinus)
34		Heinrichus Hartmannus Hessus (Peregrinus)
35		Johannes Petri Frisius, Norchanus (Peregrinus)

TABLE 4 *Names of auditors of the Lectorium listed in the Lectorium minutes (cont.)*

No. 1566	1567	1571
36	Arnoldus Episcopus Frisius, Embdensis (Peregrinus)	
37	Johannes Roderwold Frisius, Groningensis (Peregrinus)	
38		Heinrich Frieß [1575]
39		Joh. Huser
40		Joh. Conradus Buman [1575]
41		Joh. Jacobus Frij
42		Adrianus Frisius
43		Joh. Jacobus Murer [1575]
44		Georgius Sultzer [1573]
45		Bartholomaeus Bacman
46		Helias Fischer [1573]
47		Conradus Huser
48		Matthias Keller [1576]
49		Joh. Ceto
50		Lucius Nior
51		Jacobus Rordorff
52		Georgius Steiner
53		Leonhardus Pellican
54		Joh. Schädler [1577]
55		Joh. Heinrich. Swyzer
56		Martyr Terentianus [1575]
57		Otmarus Caspar
58		Joh. Rodolphus Goldschmid [1573]

Note: The transcriptions (asg) are from the Minutes: School Minutes, Staz E li 458: Wolfgang Haller (1566) 74Av 74.[8...]V; (1567) 74.90 R; Caspar Wolf (1571), 121V. In Square Parentheses are Information Taken from the List of Ordinations (Denzler, "Matrikel," Pp. 68–80)

*Documents Pertaining to the Grossmünster  
Stift's School Regulations*

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## The Grossmünster Stift Regulations of 1532 Regarding the Lectorium's Lecturers and Its Variations from 1523 to 1540

(1) 1532 (StAZ, G I, 154, f. 5r–5v; Transcription ASG)

10 Meister Cu<o>nrat Pellican, der von Basel har be=// rufft ist, unnd erbetten, liß die Biblj, uff he=//breischer sprach in latin, die er ouch in gschafft verfasst, unnd in truck verordnet, daran alle // gelerten ein nutz und gfallen habend, er gat // ouch niemar mussig, sunder schribt, und schaffet // allzit etwas nutzes, der gantzen Christenheit // zu<o> gu<o>tem.

11 Meister Theodorus bu<o>chman von Bischoff zell, ist hie // zu<o> der ler erzogen, und so vil zu<o> genommen, das // ein rät Inn zu<o> hertzog friderichen gen lignitz // verornet hand, da er ij Jar wol gelert, unnd //

<5v>

mit lob unnd eren wider har kommen ist, da hand // alle gelertenn Jnn erbetten, by unns ze beliben. // Der erklet am morgen die Biblj, unnd leits // der maß uß, das alle ander predicanen, lerer // und leßer, schu<o>ler, und wer har kunt, dess // vil gebessert werden, er lert ouch nach dem Imbis, unnd gibt Jnleitung zu<o> rechtem verstand // der sprachen.

13, 14 Her hanns Jacob amman, unnd Ru<o>dolfus buler genant // Collinus die hand ir letzgen taglich zu<o> underrichtung // und gu<o>ten bruch (...) der griechischen unnd // latinischen sprachen fu<o>r die angenommen schu<o>ler und // ander die Jetz zu<o> nemmend und gu<o>ten verstand habend, // unnd sind dise letzgen nutz und fürderlich zu<o> wol unnd // gschicklich ze reden, das aber wenig darin gand, das // ist, Inen unnd unns allen beid, das se vil gu<o>ter unnd // nutzer ler so zurich gschicht fru und spat nit höher // geachtet, gesu<o>cht, noch begert wirt.//

<6r>

Denn es ist offenbar vor Gott, unnd der welt, das // von gotts besundren gnaden, Jetz zurich die göttlich unnd // weltlich ler unnd gschrift so trulich flißklich unnd // künstlich geführt werdennd, als an keinem ort in // tutschen landen. //

Variations:

(2) 1532–1534 (StAZ G I 155 [with school master]; Transcription ASG)

7r

10 Meister Cunradus Pellicanus ist von Basel heruff berufft // und erbetten die hebreischen spräch ze leren. Der lisdz zu<o> // allen Jaren die Hebräisch grammatic, und alle tag jn der // Biblischen letzen den hebreischen text, Er hat ouch dise // Jar har jn das gantz alt testament geschriben, und das lassen // Latin Jm truk ußgang, das nun fast nutz ist gantzer Christen=// lichen kilchen, insunders den predicanten die vile der bucheren und alten lereren nit vermogend.

11.12 Johans Jacob amman und Ru<o>dolf buler collinus genant, // dis zwen Jung aber fast glert man sind angenommen die griechischen // und Latinischen sprächen zu leren, Darinn Jren Jetwederer, // wie jn der ersten reformation bestimpt ist, jedes tags //

v

ein stund jn jetwäderer spräch lißdt, und wie wol jetzund // wenig zuleset sind, uß der ursach, das man zü diser zit // nit vil knaben besolden mag, und gmeine burger nit // vil vermogend, oder nit vil wellend, Jre kind zür ler // ze ziehen, Jst doch hoffnung es werde mitt dem selben besser, // so lerend sy die so jetzung an der bsoldung sind, und andre, // mitt trüwen, hettend lieber c denn xx zu leses, und ist // an jnen kein mangel, //

...14 Meister Theodorus buchman jst hie zu<o> der ler erzogen, // hat so vil zugenommen, das die verordneten von eim // ersamen rät zu<o> hertzog fridrichen gen Lignitz jn die // schlosnen (as der fürst begert) gschikt habend, da er ii Jar // wol gelert, und mitt eren wider heim ist kommen. //

Der ist nun angestellt Im 1532 Jar von den Pflägereu zu<o> // der biblischen letzgen, die er alle tag am morgen ein stund // an statt der prim tertz und sext mitt grossem flis arbeit und // frucht, erklärt, dess ouch die glerten gefurderet werden.//

15 Meister Jörg binder jst schu<o>lmeister gsin xv Jar, hat grosse // arbeit jn der schu<o>l mitt biderber luten kinden, der ist // us gheiß uns ersamen räts mitt einer chorherren pfrund // versehen zu<o> belonung siner langen diensten, und zuo // trost sinem blinden vatter, //

(3) 1534 (StAZ G I 170; Transcription ASG)

7r

10. M. Cunradus Pellicanus ist von Basel heruff berufft // und erbetten, die hebräischen spräch zu leeren, der lißdt // zu<o> allen und jeden jaren die hebräischen grammatic, und // alle tag In der biblischen letzgen den hebräischen text. // Er hat ouch dise Jar her Jn das gantz alt testament //

v

geschriben, und das lassen latin jm truck ußgan, das // nun fast nutz ist gantzer Christenlichen kilchen, insunders // den predicanten, die die vile der bucheren und alten // lereren nit ghalten mögend. //

11.12 Johans Jacob amman und Ru<o>dolf buler collinus genant, // dis zwen sind angenommen die griechischen und latinischen // spräch ze leeren, darumb jn jetwäder, wie jn der // ersten reformation bestimpt ist, jedes tags Ein stund // in jetwäder spräch lißdt, und wie wol jetzund // wenig zuleset sind uß der ursach das man zu dieser zit // ja zu mal nit ein knaben besolden mag, und gmeine burger // wie wol vermögend jr kind zur leer ze zelgen. ist doch // hoffnung es werde mitt dem selben besser, so lerend sij // die so jetzund an der besoldung sind und ouch sunst ander, // mit truwen, hatend lieber c denn nun xx zuleset.

14 M. Theodorus buchman von bischofzell ist hie zu<o> der ler erzogen, hat so vil zugenommen, das die verordneten // von einem ersamen rat Im zu<o> hertzog friderichen // gen Lignitz in die schlosen (als der fürst begert) geschickt // habend, da er ij Jar wol gelert, und mitt Eren wider // heim ist kommen, der ist nun angestellt Im 1532 Jar // von den pflägere zur Biblischen letzgen, die er alle tag // am morgen ein stund, an statt der prim tertz und sext, // mitt grossen flyß, arbeit und frucht erklärt, dess ouch // die gelerten gefürdert werden. //

15 M. Jörgen Binder ist schulmeister, hat grosse arbeit Jn der schu<o>l mitt biderber luten kinden, den hand ein er. rät gheissen mitt einer chorherren pfrund versechen zu belonung siner // langen diensten, und ze trost sinem blinden vatter. //

(4) From the 'Ain Christenlichen Ansehen...', 29 September 1523, cited after Müller, ed., *Vor- und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen*, p. 241

'...verordnet werdent / wol geleert / kunstreych / sittig menner / die alle tag offentlich in der hailigen geschrift / ain stundt in Hebreyscher / ain stund in Kriechischer / und ain stund in Latinischen sprachen die zu<o> rechtem verstand der go<e>tlichen gschriftten / gantz notwendig sind / lesent unnd lerent / on der unsern auß der stat und ab dem land / so in jr letzgen gond / belonung und entgeltus.'

(5) 1523(29 Sept)–1532–1540 (G I, 86, p. 42–43, part of the Stift orders; Transcription ASG)

Von den Läseren unnd Lätzgen // im Lectorio. //

Alls dann die Reformatio vermag das man an // dem gstift in dryen spraachen, ouch ein stund // in heiliger gschrÿfft, läsen sol, also beschickt // es täglich, volgender wÿs unnd gstatt. //

<in margin: Lectio theologica.> Morgens umb die 7 läsend in der biblj und // hebraischer sprach zwen, herr pellican unnd // h. joder Bu<o>chman: dis ist ein schwere und // vast nützliche lätzen: bedarff tröpfenlich wol // zweÿer frommer glerter mënner. //

<in margin: Latinisch.> Umb die 12 zu<o> mittag lißt ein stund der lati=// nisch läser. Der ist dieser zýt ouch schulherr, // h. hanns jacob Amman. //

<in margin: Griechisch.> Umb die 4 zu abend lißt ein stund der griechisch läser, herr Rodolff amm bul, jst dieser zýt // ouch der stiftt buwmeister. //

<in margin: Physica.> Näbend zu<o> laßt man ouch umb die 2 nach // mittag ein lätzgen läsen in gu<o>ten künsten. //

<in margin: Exercitatio> Und die jüngling die erwo<e>lten letzen hörend, // mu<e>stind uff die Samstag ettwan Latinischen, // etwan Tütsch predgen imm Lectorio. //

<in margin: Examinieren.> Man examiniert unnd verhört sy ouch alle // jar zwey mal, ze osteren unnd inn dem // herpst. Nach dem Examen stellt man // uss die Läser und schu<o>ler, denn radtschlagt // mann was inen zu<o> sagen, unnd was zu<o> beßeren ist. //

<43>

<in margin: Vacantzen.> Dise habend in den Hundtstagen unnd in dem // herpst, etliche vacantzen oder ruwtag. Wie uff // allen schu<o>len der bruch ist.//



## Transcription of the Regulations of 1559/1560

(StAZ E II 476, 5r–18v; Transcription ASG)

[5r]

Hernach folgend die Ordnungen und //  
Sazungen, welche zu Zürich in der //  
schul behalten, kurzlich aufgericht //  
worden. //

Alle die, die in diser schul allhie Zürich lehren wollend, sol //  
lend dem Schul-Herren, den Verordneten zu der Lehr, allen //  
ihren Praeceptoribus, und Elteren gehorsam und gfügig //  
seyn, in allem dem daß die Lehr und gute Zucht betrifft. //

Es söllend alle schuler die erwachsen sind, die morgen //  
zu den predigten und gebät der gläubigen, in die //  
kirchen gahn, und darbey züchtig und fleißig ver- //  
harren, biß Zum end, insonders sollend sie am //  
Sontag morgens und abends bey der predig seyn//  
und besonderen fleiß und enden in dem Katechismo.//

Es söllend alle schuler die erwachsen sind, auch die //  
studenden fleißig in alle die lezgen gahn, in die sie //  
geordnet worden, also wann die glogg schlägt, sie dann //  
in dar schul oder in dem Lectorio seyind da dannen //  
sie nit kommen sollend, biß die stund oder Lection //  
auß ist.//

Darzu sollend sie allen ihren ernst, und fleiß //  
anwenden, mit stillem aufmerken, und frutigem //  
aufzeichnen, und daheim wann die Lection auß ist //  
mit embsigen repetieren.//

[5v]

welche je zum anderen oder dritten tag den Praecep- //  
toribus, um daß so sie gehört, gefragt oder exami- //  
niert wurden, sollend sich des Examinis nit widrig //

nach derselben stund und zeit eüßeren. //  
 Insonderheit wann man gmentlich zun jahren //  
 examiniert, soll sich niemand ohne besonderen //  
 urloub hinderhalten und eüßeren. //  
 Und ob etlich durch das jahr usert der Lection //  
 bleibind, so<sup>e</sup>llend von den Praeceptoribus beschickt, //  
 und gestrafft werden, welche vil und gefährlich //  
 außbleiben, söllend den verordneten bey guter //  
 Zeit angezeigt, und ihnen gar nichts verhalten //  
 werden. //  
 Welche zu declamieren oder Predigen Latein oder //  
 tütisch erforderet, oder von welchen man wurde //  
 Experimenta Latein oder Griechisch\* [margin: \*suppl. begehen,], sollend sich nit //  
 widrigen //  
 Und ob jemens der predicanten, oder Leseren //  
 und schulMeisteren, die schuler oder studenten, zu //  
 der Zeit der lezgen, oder von den sechsen am morgen //  
 biß zu den x. und von den xii. biß zu den fünfen //  
 nachmittag hin und har auf der gaßen, oder //  
 vor den thoren gahn oder stahn, sehe und funde //  
 dise sollend sie darum rechtfertigen, und ob sie //  
 nothwendig seyn bedunkte, anbringen. //  
 dieweil dann glehrte wo nit Zucht und Ehr ist //  
 nit gilt nach hilfft, ist angesehen daß nit minder //

[6r]

die unzüchtigen, dann die unfleißigen sollend gestrafft //  
 werden. //  
 darum alle die, so allhie Zürich in die schul und lection //  
 gahn wollend, sollend allen und jeden sazungen, und //  
 Zucht-ordnungen unseren gnädigen Herren von //  
 Zürich wie die im truck und anderst außgegangen, //  
 oder verkündt sind, oder noch möchtind gemacht //  
 werden underthan und gehorsam seyn. //  
 Weiter sollend sie keine Conventicula, Zäch oder ür- //  
 tynen, nachstubeten, schlafftrünck zusammen lauffen, //  
 oder schleüffen, keine schläm merh präß weder innert //  
 oder außert der stadt gar nit weder anrichten, oder //  
 so solches von anderen angerichtet wurde, darby //  
 seyn, voll wein soll gar keiner werden, oder getüst //

straff erwarten. //

Und ob jemand der schulere, oder studenten //  
seiner geschäften halb ußert die stadt gienge, oder //  
geschickt wurde, der soll sich züchtig in der kleidung //  
und im wandel halten. //

Ob jemand Zu gast, oder auf ein Hochzeit, oder //  
sonst ehrlich geladen wurde, der soll darum we- //  
der zu trincken, noch tanzen, oder in andere un- //  
zucht sich begäbe.

Es sollend die schuler und studenden gar überal //  
keine tänz weder offendtlich noch heimlich an //  
richten, ja wo tänz gehalten werden, sollen sie sich dar- //  
bey nit finden laßen, weder in oder außert der stadt. //

[6v]

bey nacht soll keiner auf der gaß gefunden werden, //  
noch vil minder söllend studenten, mit Ludten, //  
mit pfeiffen oder anderen säitenspielen hofieren //  
und umzeühen, ob ihren aber einer nachts auf der //  
gaßen gahn müste seiner geschäften halb, der soll //  
ein Laternen oder liecht haben, und wann es bädtt //  
gloggen ist, soll sich ein jeder in seiner herbe- //  
rig finden laßen, da unser gnädig Herren //  
ihren dieneren oder wächteren erloubt alle //  
die in gfängnuß zulegen, die nach der bädtt //  
gloggen auf der gaßen funden werden, diß //  
jemand angezeigt, und mäniglichen hiervor //  
gewahrnt haben. //

Kein schuler oder student soll sich gsellen zu //  
ungmäßner gsellschafft, zu verthanen, Lieder- //  
lichen, boßhafften vertrunknen, verspilten rauven //  
und godtlosen leüthen, oder zu denen so etlicher //  
gestalt mit lasteren verschreyt sind.

Alle schuler und studenten sollen ehrbahre //  
kleider tragen, sy sollend auch ob man sie üp //  
pigkeidten und neüerung abthun, hierzu ["zu" crossed out], gehor //  
sam seyn, auch sich überall keiner gebürlichen //  
Zucht noch straff widrigen. //  
Und wie es gehalten wird mit den Heimschen //

also soll es auch gehalten werden mit den frömb //  
den.

[7r]

Dise ordnung soll zu allen jahren, wann man gmeinlich //  
examiniert, öffentlich allen denen, die in die Cen- //  
suren kommend, vorgelesen werden, damit sie nit //  
in abgang gericht werde, sonder jeglicher was //  
er schuldig ist wüße. //

Die Stipendiarii und alle die, so von der kir- //  
chen hilff haben, sollend unerlaubt und wider //  
die gsezt—ordnung nit für sich selbs aus eignen //  
gutbedunken, weiben, ob sie aber ohne rath und //  
wider die ordnungen weibeten, sollend sie geurlau- //  
bet werden. //

Welche unzüchtig sind, hurend oder andern große //  
laster begahnd, söllend geurloubet werden. //

Mit den geurlaubten wird man rechnen allen //  
kosten der auf sie von dem tag an, und sie an- //  
gnommen sind, gangen ist, den wird man nit von //  
ihren elteren, sonder von ihnen hernach widerum //  
einzeühen, wann sie zu einem stand kommend oder //  
erb und eigen erlangend. //

Alle straff soll nach erkanter that, von den ver- //  
ordneten zu der Lehr, oder so es die noth erhiesche //  
mit Rath der verordneten unser gnädig herren //  
dem übertredenden aufgelegt werden, und soll //  
beschächen mit worten, oder mit der ruten, + oder mit // [margin left: +...stipendii]  
minderung deßelbigen mit der gefängnuß und //  
mit verschicken, dann welche ohne beßerung sich guten //

[7v]

sazungen widerseztind, und der straff sich nit under //  
gebind, und stolz mit ihrem bösen wesen und //  
Exempel, andere auch frech machend und verböserte //  
wöltend, die werdend unsere gnädig herren in //  
ihr stadt nit dulden noch leiden. //  
Solches von der straff, nit allein den Stipen //  
diariis, sonder heimschen und frömbden aufer //  
legt, last man [small over it: darum] das nun [~~“das nun”~~ crossed out] bey den sazungen //

verlesen, daß sich ein jeglicher desto bas hüte //  
 und sich fleiße gehorsam, fleißig, fromm und //  
 tugendsam zuseyn, welches auch einem jeden //  
 bas anstaht, so er das willig von liebe der Ehr //  
 und tugend thut, dann von wegen der tugend //  
 und straff. //

Ordnung wie man sich allhier in der //  
 schul mit lehren, lesen, auch allem //  
 dem, daß zu der schul dienet halben //  
 solle.

Fürnemlich soll mit allem fleiß, treüw und //  
 ernst von den schulmeistern gehalten werden //  
 daß die schuler nit allein in der lehr, sonder auch //  
 in der godtsforcht, und guten süten auferzogen //  
 werdind, die Ingenia und stuk die zu dem lehrenden //  
 und lehrenden leüthen förend alß da sind vernunft //

[8r]

verstand, gute gedachtnußen, und ein recht gut gspräch, //  
 sollend die schul Meister wol erdauren und bewähren, //  
 und die knaben an denen etwas zuhoffen ist, für- //  
 deren, wo dann wenig hoffnung ist, den mangel //  
 bey guter Zeit anzeigen, damit nit wuil zeit, //  
 müh oder arbeit verlohren, darzu die knaben //  
 versäumt, und zu Handtwerken verhinderet wer- //  
 den, prästhafte knaben oder tüppel aber, auch krüp- //  
 pel sollend die schulMeister fründtlich aus der //  
 schul abweisen, daß nit die kirch mit der Zeit //  
 mit ungeschikten leüthen überladen und un- //  
 seren herren pfründen aufgesetzt werdind. //  
 Un-laster, grobe, wüste oder pürische unzüch- //  
 tigen weisen, im reden, gahn, stahn, oder andern, //  
 geberden, sollen die schulmeister den knaben auf //  
 das komlichest oder fleißigest abnehmen und ihnen //  
 morum civilitatem wol und eigentlichen unbil- //  
 den wo aber verkehrte, boßhaffte und ärgerliche //  
 buben vorhanden wärind, als die mit schalk- //  
 heit, bubereyen, und bösen tücken, auch weiter [underlined and +, at the margin of  
 the next row left: fosti wid] //

das sömlichem alter gebühret, ungiengend, //  
 dardurch sie andere gutartige kind, auch ver- //  
 böseren oder verführen möchtind, die söllend //  
 ohn allen verzug aus der schul verwisen werden. //

[8v]

desgleichen auch die unghorsam, oder widerspennig //  
 während, widerbefzen und treüwen dörften, oder //  
 deren Elteren so ellend wärind, das sie nit wolten //  
 gedulden das man sie zu der Kirchen führte, oder //  
 das sie nun ihr unrecht, boßheit und verschulden //  
 strieft, und hierinn sollend die verordneten //  
 zu den schulen und schulMeistern behulffen //  
 und berathen seyn, und unser gnädig Herr //  
 gebädten werden, hierinnen wider die widerspennig //  
 schutz und schirm zugeben, dann die schulMeister //  
 und Collaboratores söllend straffen die straff //  
 würdigen, und Ihnen gar nit verschonen, doch //  
 daß [inserted: +, margin left: +an deest dis gegen?] die straffwürdigen nach glegenheit  
 der sach //  
 mit der ruthen nach vernunft und bscheiden- //  
 heit vädterlichen beschehe.

Von dem Kirchgang. //

Alle Samstag, Sonntag und Fest der Kirchen ... //  
 Zürich, sollend alle schuler, die das alter, vernunft //  
 und verstand habend, insonders die in den vor //  
 deren Classibus sind, zu der predig des abends //  
 und morgens geführt werden, damit aber söm //  
 liches nit beschehe mit unordnung, sollend d. ie //  
 schulMeister selbs, oder so es ihnen gar nit möglich //  
 die provisoires //

[9r]

die provisoires oder Collaboratores bey ihnen seyn, sie in //  
 die oder auß der kirchen in der ordnung führen, in //  
 der kirchen gfließen auf sie sehen, und nach vollendeter //  
 predig in der schul das Register lesen, und die in //  
 der Kirchen gschwätzt, und sich unzüchtig gehalten //  
 straften, darzu den Elteren ein frag aufgeben deß das //

da prediget ist darbey man gspürt ob die knaben mit //  
 fleiß und frucht auflosind. //  
 Es sollend aber die Knaben alle samstag und sonntag //  
 ein halbe stund ehe dann wan verleüdtet und in die //  
 kirchen geht, in die schul besamlet werden, und soll //  
 ihnen derselben Zeit summa fidei Christiana vorgelesen, //  
 und morndeß früh examiniert werden, der Provisor //  
 mag seine vor der abend predig am sonntag Exami- //  
 nieren, dise Summa aber soll des jahrs einest ganz //  
 ausgelesen werden, damit auch hie kein unord- //  
 nung und betrug einreiße, soll man den knaben //  
 nit gestadten, daß sie in kein andere kirchen, dann //  
 in die allein gangind, in die ihr schul gehört, dann //  
 es erfindt sich das etliche knaben fürgebend, wie //  
 sie mit den ihren, oder in andern kirch gan- //  
 gind, und bleibind aber under solchem schein usert //  
 der Kirchen, so sind sie auch nit deß alters, und //  
 sömlichs Verstands, daß sie ihnen selbs predigen //  
 mögind außerwehlen. //  
 dieweil //

[9v]  
 dieweil auch die schulder vil unzuchten, gschreys, //  
 jagen und wüsten wesens treibend, etwan auch //  
 in der schul selbs, ehe dann die glogg schlägt, zu son //  
 ders aber wann sie auß der Kirchen und schulen //  
 außgelaßen werdend, sollend die verordneten //  
 zu den schulen in die schulen zu den Knaben //  
 gahn, und sie in beyseyn der schulMeisteren //  
 und ihren mitarbeitderen, ernstlichen ver- //  
 mahnen Zur gehorsamme Zucht und stille, denn //  
 hiemit befehle man den schulmeisteren und //  
 ihren Collaboratoribus, daß sie die unghorsam //  
 men und unzüchtigen ernstlich strafen. //

Von den Stunden die man in den //  
 schulen seyn und läsen soll. //

Die stunden sollen fleißig von den schulMeistern //  
 und ihren Zugebnen gehalten werdind, also daß wo //

die glogg schlägt sie da in der schul zugegen, und //  
 die ganz stund, biß es widerum schlägt lesind und //  
 behörind, und namlich zwo stund vormidtag, also //  
 von dem sechsen biß zu den sibnen, und von den //  
 viii biß zu den ix. Aber ij. stund nach midtag von den //  
 xii. biß zu den 2. Item aber ein stund von den //  
 3. biß zu den vieren. //

[10r]

Von den Classibus oder Lezgen, wie //  
 die söllend abgetheilt werden. //

Die schulen sollen abgetheilt seyn in 5. Classes, vor allem soll //  
 von den schulmeistern gfließen gehalten werden, unsers //  
 gnädigen herren BurgerMeisters und des Raths neüw //  
 gemachte ordnung, das namlich kein knab, in die Latei- //  
 nische + knaben [margin left: +pro schulen] aufgenommen werde, der nit zuvor in //  
 die teütsch schul gegangen seyn, oder wol könne teütsch lesen //  
 oder schreiben. //

In der ersten Class aber soll man die knaben lehren latein //  
 lesen und vergaumen daß sie die silben und buchstaben //  
 lez ausprechind, denselbigen soll man ordenlich alle tag //  
 zwey lateinische verteütschte Vocabula an die taffeln //  
 schreiben, daß sie die außen lehrnind. Am Samstag aber //  
 soll ihr lehrer alle vocabula die sie der vergangnen wuchen //  
 gehabt, von ihnen vorderen, disen soll man auch vor schreiben //  
 und alle tag die gschriftten von ihnen fordern, am sam- //  
 stag soll man sie üben im Katechismo.

In der anderen Klauf, fache man + [margin left: deest an] die knaben mit ex- //  
 ponieren, declinieren und conjugieren anführen, darzu //  
 soll Ihnen fürgegeben werden, ein kurze form declinatio //  
 num und Conjugationum, damit sie mit dem donat //  
 nit beladen werdind den ganz außen zulehnen, //  
 und mögen die verordneten zu den schulen, samdt den //  
 schulherren, und dem schulmeistern sich mit einande- //  
 ren berathen, wo hierin den Knaben am füglichsten //  
 und nuzlichsten zelesen seye, soll aber der Caton in //  
 der schul bleiben, so soll man doch den Knaben in der //



[10v]

schul die Exempla nit laßen, in denen das teütsche ne-//  
 bend das latein getrukt ist, disen soll man auch vor- //  
 schreiben und gschriften von Ihnen fordern, und am//  
 Samstag soll man auch den Catechismum mit disen//  
 knaben, und laß man keinen diser knaben aus den//  
 lezgen in die nachfolgend, der nit zimlich wol declinie//  
 ren und Conjugieren könne. //

In der dritden Klaß soll man lesen das lateinisch//  
 neüw Testament, samt den kleinen Epistlen Cicero//  
 nis durch Sturmium gesamlet, lese man auch etliche//  
 kleiner Eclogas Vergilii, insonders aber soll ein stund //  
 der Lateinen Gramatic geordnet und geeignet werden //  
 also daß man die Genera Nominum, formationes//  
 temporum und die gemeinsten Reglen Constructionis//  
 alle jahr verlese. Am Samstag sollend dise Epistlen//  
 geben, denen Argumentum [~~crossed out: ium, written above: ves~~] der Lector Zuvor in//  
 der wuchen angeben und fürsreiben soll, um die //  
 12. soll man dise üben im Catechismo, und nach gle //  
 genheit ihres alters etwas weiters dann nur die kurzen//  
 fragen fordern, am donstag aber um die Zwölffe//  
 lehre man auch griechisch lesen, und laße man auch //  
 keinen aus diser lezgen er habe dann dises alles ge- //  
 hört, und wol gelehret, daß man im Examine wol//  
 erfahren mag. //

Von dem Latein reden. //

Und welche Knaben in die dritd klößen kommen, sollen //  
 anheben latein zureden, sömlichs soll hernach in allen //  
 folgenden Classibus von allen schuleren gehalten werden, //  
 und sollen den schulMeister besonderen fleiß anwenden //  
 daß sömlicher ordnung steiff gelebt werde, daß //  
 sollend sie ordnen Coriceos, auch befehlen den Asinum //  
 nach

[11r]

nach altem brauch einanderen zugeben, welcher den gehabt //  
 dem soll werden ein Tollj, welcher ihn aber zum lesten be-//

halten, soll mit der ruten gestrafft werden, und sollend die //  
schulMeister und Collaboratores zu und aller der stunden //  
im tag, so man außlasen will verhören, und suchen //  
welche teütsch geredt habind.

Weiter von den Classibus. //

In der vierdten Classe soll der Provisor lesen das Kriechisch//  
Testament, samt der griechischen grammatica, und einen //  
lateinischen Authorem der seyn dann ein Poët oder ein //  
historicus, nach dem die zur schul verordneten schulherren,  
schulmeister und Provisores mit einanderen eins //  
werden, und der knaben nuz ist man soll auch in diser //  
lezgen des jahrs außlesen, Constructionem, Schemata, Tro- //  
pos, und rationem Carminis. Am donstag um die zwölfßj //  
lese man den lateinischen Catechismum, und examinie //  
re dene fleißig, damit die gründ das gloubens wol ge- //  
lehrt werdind, so soll auch der provisor insonderes fleis //  
ankehren, seinen knaben alle wuchen argumenta Epistola- //  
rum zugeben, zu fordern und Examinieren oder zu //  
Corrigieren. Es sollend auch alle knaben in allen Classibus //  
da sie Epistolas und experimenta gebend, ihre Epistlen in //  
ein buch zusammen schreiben, zu jeder Epistel den tag, //  
daran sie gegeben anzeichnen, und im Examine zeigen. //

Die 5. und Oberste Classis ist des schulmeisters. der //  
soll am morgen ein guten graecum authorem lesen, zu //  
midtag ein Latinum, zu abend prae exercitamenta Rhetorices //  
und Dialectices, als dann sind Aphtonius, Libri de copia rerum //  
Erasmi, oder etwas dergleichen, das man je nach gstalt //

[11v]

der zeiten und knaben übereinkomt, dann dieweil man//  
die gschicktesten knaben auß des schulmeisters lezgen//  
in das Lectorium in die höher lezgen verordnet, //  
muß man lügen daß man sömliche knaben nit//  
unbereit und ganz unerfahren dahin weise, deß//  
halben gedachte knaben under dem schulmeister aller//  
ley Exercitia mit schreiben haben sollend, die der schul-//  
meister alle wuchen zu gelegnen stunden von//  
ihnen fordern und fleißig Corrigieren soll, am//  
Donstag um die zwölfßj soll Er die Stipendiarios, die //

deß fähig, auch andere heimsche und frömbde//  
 die des begehrtend lehren Hebraeisch lesen, damit der//  
 so die Hebreisch Gramaticam liset, mit den praeceptis//  
 fruchtbarlich und ungehinderet fürfahren könne.//

Und sollend die knaben die noch in die schul gahnd//  
 von dem Lectorio gar und ganz abgesönderet seyn//  
 und nit gestadtet werden, daß einer oder mehr//  
 Zum theil in die schul, und zum theil in das Lectorium//  
 gange, dann hierans vil verwirrung, unordnung und//  
 nach +teil [+teil written above] folget, wie die Zeit daher hat zuerkennen//  
 geben, so soll auch keiner aus der schul genommen //  
 werden in das Lectorium, Er könne dann Zuvor Zim//  
 lichen das so in der schul gelehrt wird. //

Und was für bücher und lectiones in einer //  
 schul gelesen werden, eben derselbigen sollen auch //  
 in der anderen schul gelesen werden, dann es//  
 alles ein einige schul seyn soll. Ob sie gleich wol//  
 um vil komlichkeit willen an Zweyen ohrten ge- //  
 halten wird. //

Von

[12r]

Von den Lectionibus die in dem Lectorio beschehen sollend.

Wie die heilig biblisch gschrift in den rechten ursprung //  
 lichen Hauptsprachen, bißhar alle morgen, und um die //  
 drü nach mitag drey tag nach einanderen gelesen, //  
 und erklärt worden ist. also soll es fürhin darbey blei- //  
 ben, und ob es sach wäre, daß der Professorum einer krank //  
 oder in sonst zuschaffen wurde, daß er je nit lesen könnte, //  
 soll alweg der ander mit dem Lesen sein bestes thun //  
 und fürfahren, und die Zuhörer die in dise lezgen //  
 geordnet wurden geflißen seyn sollend, kente versau- //  
 men, und darinn aufzeichnen und schriben. //

Von der Grammatica Hebraea.//

Es soll aber auch einer aus den jungen predicanten //  
 oder Diaconis, wie jezund mit M. Ulrich Zwingli ange- //  
 sehen ist, alle jahr einer geordnet werden, der die He- //

braisch Grammatic außlese, und also die knaben die Ihm  
geordnet werdend, zu höherer vorbereitet und an- //  
geführt werdind.

Von dem Professore Latino. //  
Der Latein Professor soll Dialecticam und Rhetoricam //  
zu jahrerum je einer um die ander lesen, und das alle //  
tag um die Zwölff im Lectorio und die sachen dermaßen //  
schicken, daß er daran eintweders in einem jahr einest //  
außlese, deß soll Er sein stund wol zu ehren zeühen  
auch den knaben in authoribus durch Exempla, usum //  
und Imitationem zeigen, da dan auch nuzlich und gut //

[12v]

seyn wird, daß Er besuche Lectionem Theologicam alß //  
in deren der Exemplan vil angezogen, die den studiosis //  
bekanter und anmuthiger dann andere auß dene //  
Authoribus, die sie nach nit gsehen habend, zu dem //  
daß die Exempla Scripturae ihnen besonder nuz //  
bringen mögend, alß deren mehrtheils zu der //  
Theologia erzogen werden. //  
Und wie es gebraucht wird under den Professo //  
ribus Theologicis, also soll es auch gebraucht werden //  
under den Professoribus Latino und Graeco, nam //  
lich so der ein nit kan sein Lectionem versehen //  
der ander doch fürfahre und lese, oder doch etwan //  
ein anderer angestellt werde, damit die stund //  
an lesen nit hinschleiche und verderbe, auch die //  
knaben stäths ohne underlas geübt werdind //

Ob es auch die nothdurfft und glegenheit der //  
Zeiten und schuleren erfordern wurde, daß //  
die beyd Professores Latinus und Graecus weiter //  
sich mit lesen und üben der knaben gebrauchen //  
liesind, söllend die, so den jez gesetzten nachfolgend //  
sich gutwillig zu Verbeßerung und erhaltung der //  
schul gebrauchen laßen. //

Von dem Professore Graeco. //

Der Professor Graecus, soll zu seiner gesetzten stund //  
 ein guten Graecum authorem lesen, doch soll Er in den //  
 selben nit ad verbum exponiren, oder so etwas schwer (...) //  
 der sprach fürfalt, anzeigen. Sonder dieweil sein //  
 lezgen etwas mehrers und Höhers seyn soll, dann //  
 der//

[13r]

der schulmeisteren, welche auch Authores Graecos Grammaticae //  
 in den schulen lesend, soll Er insonders anzeigen das //  
 Artificium, usum und Imitationem in Authoribus, auch //  
 anders daß zu der Philosophia und Philologia dienet, //  
 damit die Auditores ein brauch und Muster habindt der //  
 Praeceptionen die sie hörend von dem Professore Latino //  
 Logico, und auch zu mehrerem und Höheren angführt //  
 werdind. Er soll sich auch fleißen uns um das ander //  
 prosam oder Oratoriam und Poësin zulesen, und des //  
 jahrs ein authorem, oder etliche der bücher zum end //  
 zubringen, wie sich dan jede sachen der glegenheit //  
 der Autoren nachschikend. //

Von dem Professore physico.

Derselbig Professor soll im selbs stellen ein Cursum //  
 oder Compendium der fürnemsten Stucken physices //  
 oder wo von anderen gelehrten ein ordenlichen gnug- //  
 samer und wäsentlicher Cursus vorhin gstelt wäre, //  
 ihn und seinen Auditoribus erwehlen, und densel- //  
 bigen zu seiner stund alle jahr von einem Examen //  
 zum anderen, so vil möglich auflösen. //

Exercitia deren so in dem Lectorio //  
 die lezgen hörend. //

Es söllend insonderheit Latinus und Graecus Professor //  
 daß sie gelesen am anderen, oder dritden tag von //  
 ihren Auditoribus fordern und sie Examinieren //  
 hierin ihres fleißes gut acht haben, auch ein Catalogum //

[13v]

besonders die Nammen der Stipendiaten begreifend //  
 haben, damit sie wüßen mögind, welche abwesend //  
 oder unfleißig sind, und derselben halben söllend //  
 sie beyzeiten anzeigung thun, und ihnen nit ver-//  
 schohnen. Der Lector Latinus soll die seinen anweisen//  
 und darzu halten, daß sie Orationes Latinas//  
 omnis generis, Dialogos fictas narrationes, und was //  
 dergleichen übungen sind, schreibind, ihn anzei//  
 gind, und sich stäth übind, am freytag soll Er für //  
 und für einen, und demnach den anderen //  
 freytag ein anderen declamieren laßen Latine//  
 und hierbey selbs seyn, daß Er Ihn die mängel//  
 anzeige, und die fähler verbeßeret werdind//  
 aber alle und jede Samstag soll Er einen teütsch//  
 in Lectorio zu predigen anstellen, und sollen bey//  
 solchen predigen Zum mindesten einer von den//  
 Predicanten seyn, welche es wol mögend under//  
 ihnen umgehn laßen, der soll den mangel den//  
 Predigenden anzeigen und verbeßeren dese //  
 Declamationes soll man steiff halten, und ob von//  
 erhafften gschäftten wegen der Professor Latinus//  
 nit könnte darbey seyn, soll Er doch den Professoreum //  
 Graecum oder ein anderen an sein stadt ordenen//  
 damit kein Declamation underlaßen werde. ///

Es soll auch der Professor Graecus seine Audito//  
 res eben inschreiben, und von disen fordern Epi-//  
 stolas graecas versiones è Graeco latinas und was der-//  
 gleichen nuz und gut ist, und was dann sömlicher arbeidt //  
 die //

[14r]

die knaben das ganz jahr wüßend oder machend söllend sie //  
 auch im Examine zeigen namlich das lateinisch und das //  
 griechisch, gleichwie auch die Excepta die sie schreibend in //  
 Lectionibus Theologicis. //

Von den Urlauben und Vacanzen.

alle und jede donstag in der wuchen nach midtag un //  
 das ein # [margin left: soll in die schulen, ein] urlaub gelaßen werde. doch alles das in //  
 den Classibus hiervor verzeichnet und aufgelegt ist //  
 zuvor außgericht werde. Item alle sonntag und fest //  
 diser Kirchen, doch auch nit mehr oder fehrner dann //  
 die lang dieselben während, und die Samstag und feyr //  
 abend, wie der donstag der stunden halb gehalten werdind //  
 zu der faßnacht mag man die hünere eßen, und //  
 denseben tag frey seyn, die anderen tag aber soll //  
 man lesen, und an dem Mitwuchen vor Osteren //  
 soll urlaub geben werden, wie an einem donstag //  
 und die urlaub währen, nuz am Zinstag früh nach //  
 Osteren, dann soll man widerum schul halten, in den //  
 Hundstagen soll nit mehr urlaub dann zu anderen //  
 Zeiten geben werden. Es soll aber unser Herren tag und //  
 der folgend darauf frey seyn. Und in dem Herbst //  
 wann der schenkhof an und abgaht, soll alsdann die ur //  
 laub in der schul an und abgahn, und was außert //  
 disen jez genanten urlauben und Vacanzen extra //  
 ordinarie missionis sind, Es seyen Hochzeit, frömbde //  
 leüth, neüe Lectores und was sonst anders möchte //  
 erfunden werden, sollend hiemit aufgehebt seyn, //  
 und nit mehr gelten. //

[14v]

In dem Lectorio soll es mit den Lectionibus gleicher //  
 gestalt, wie in den schulen gehalten werden, auß... //  
 nommen, daß man wie von alter her gestadtet, die //  
 Hundstag zufeiern, doch daß auch daßelbig nit länger //  
 wärn dann ein monat, und das im lectorio die //  
 Declamationes nit anderst dann wie sonst zu anderen //  
 zeiten fůrgangind, daß man auch von der un.neüen //  
 [crossed out: Eü Herren, in margin: bucheren] wegen, die man je zunzeiten anhegt //  
 keine tag im Lectorio feire. //

Von dem jährlichen Examen.

deß jahrs soll ein Examen gehalten werden nach Ostern //  
 daß mit mehr weil und ernst, dann bißher beschehen //

nach beschähenen Examen söllend die aufseher//  
 der schulen samt dem schulherren offnen und thun [und underlined, before: +, in margin left ± forte d und]  
 und die ungfließen erfunden bschälken und straffen//  
 auch zu den Stipendiis, und derselben mehr und//  
 gen gar nienen fürderen, und soll das bschehen//  
 darum das alle schuler ein anlas habind gflißner//  
 zustudieren. Zwüschend dem Examen aber in dem//  
 jahr soll niemand promoviert werden, es //  
 schehe dann von eines fürpündigen fleißes wegen //  
 doch soll es auch nit beschehen ohne wüßen des//  
 verordneten zu der schul, im Lectorio soll man//  
 fleißig Examinieren die Scripta und Experimenta//  
 Iuvenum und welche die fleißigsten, gschiktesten //  
 und gehorsamsten erfunden werdend, die söllend//  
 zu glegner Zeit gen wandlen an die frömbde//  
 schiken.//

[15r]

schicken, die anderen aber so vil und lang aufhalten //  
 biß sie auch ghorsam und gschikt werdend. //

Wie und durch welchen sömlichs solle in //  
 wäsen behalten werden. //

Dieweil aber nit möglich ist das gute ordnungen //  
 in wäsen bleibind, wann nit auch gsetzt werden auff- //  
 seher, auch einem einigen menschen nit möglich ist //  
 die vilfaltige ordnung zuversehen und bewahren //  
 erforderet die sach und nothdurfft das fömlich auf //  
 sehen und verwaltung auf etlich persohnen geleyt //  
 werde, die ihren besten fleiß anwenden und vergau //  
 men söllend, daß wider gestelte ordnung nüzig be-//  
 schehe, sonder alles in gutem wesen bleibe und be-//  
 stande. Es soll der Herr N. ein treüw aufsehen //  
 haben zu der schul und schulordnung zum großen //  
 Münster, und ein anderer zu der schul auch zu den //  
 knaben die da sind im Collegio zu dem frauen Münster //  
 doch söllend die Provisores und auch Collaboratores //  
 oder Locaten in ihrer anderen schul nit ohne beyseyn //



und Rathschlag der schulMeisteren erwehet, und an- //  
 genommen werden, es söllend auch dieselben ohn //  
 alles mittel dem schul Meister underworffen seyn //  
 also daß ihren keiner einiche stund zuversaumen //  
 oder ein anderer an sein stadt zuverordnen //  
 gewalt habe, sonder deß zuvor erlaubnuß und ver- //  
 willigung von seinem schulmeister nemme, und die schul- //  
 Meister sollen ohne vorwüßen und erlaubnuß vor- //

[15v]

gemelten G. N und N außert der schul nit seyn //  
 sonder ihr amt treulich und fleißig zu allen //  
 stunden versehen, es sollend auch die schul Meister //  
 nit vil hin und har über feld weisen, oder sich zu //  
 corrigieren in truck und in andere stuck, dardurch //  
 sie von der schul abgezogen mögind werden ver //  
 pflichtet und versteken, und so sie Badenfährt //  
 oder andere nothdurfft bedörfend, söllend sie zu ve //  
 mit den aufseheren rathschagen, wie und mit //  
 welchen sie ihren stand versehen wollind, damit //  
 er wol versehen werde. //

Nebend dem soll der Verwalter am Gstift, H. //  
 Wolfgang Haller, und H. Hanß Jacob Wyck, die Sti- //  
 pendiaten, insonders die so der schul nun mehr //  
 erlaßen sind, in guter hut halten und auf //  
 ihren wandel aufsehung haben, also daß der //  
 selbigen keiner weder über feld zureisen, //  
 sich in andere Herberig zuverenderen ohn ihr //  
 Rath und erlaubnuß gewalt habe. //

Es soll auch keiner außert der Lezgen bleiben //  
 rhen urlaub den Er von dem Professore der Lezgen //  
 nemmen soll, die knaben aber so an dem allmuseu //  
 zu den Augustinieren erhalten werden, söllend //  
 gleicher gstat under dem Allmuseu und verwaltung //  
 Hren Rudolft Waltheren seyn, und dise drey söllend //  
 auch gut aufsehen haben, daß vil ernempte //  
 knaben sich ehrbahrlich bekleidind, und sich //  
 leichtfertigen neüerungen und hoffarten ab- //  
 thühind //

[16r]

thühind, Auch sich sonst ohnärgerlich und ehrbahrlich //  
in ihrem wandel haltind. //

Von dem Schulherren.//

Und zu disem allem soll ein gmeiner schulherr ge-//  
setzt werden, welchen ermeldte aufseher, das ihnen //  
begegnete anzeigen könnten, und er ihnen behulffen //  
und berathen wäre, oder so es die nothdurfft erhiesche, //  
ein Convocation hielte, und sömlicher schulherr, soll auf //  
alle dise ordnungen daß sie steiff gehalten werdind//  
ein treü aufsehen haben. Er soll auch die frömbden //  
studenten, so hie studierend in seiner verwaltung //  
und hut haben, deßgleichen alle diser schul Stipendiaten //  
die an der frömbde studierend, ohne des schulherren //  
erlaubnuß sollen die Herren Professores ihre Lectio-//  
nes nit underlaßen. Ob Ihnen aber gschäftt zufile //  
lend, daß sie ein zeitli nit lesen könnten, und einer //  
den anderen als obgemeldt auch nit wol versehen //  
möchte, dann sollend sie mit dem Schulherren //  
Rathschlagen, und ein kumliche persohn, die eint- //  
weders im lesen fürfahrt, oder sonst etwarin //  
die Knaben übe, damit die Zeit nit ohne frucht //  
hinfliesse.//

Auf daß aber auch sömliche burdj nit allezeit //  
auf einem allein liege, soll keiner widter pflich-//  
tig seyn söpmlichs amt anzunehmen oder zuver- //  
walten, dann nur ein Jahr, also wann man exa- //  
miniert hat zu Ostern ein Schulherr in beyseyn //

[16v]

Unsers gnädigen Herren BurgerMeisters, und der//  
Räthen, so zu der lehr geordnet sind von unseren//  
gnädigen Herren den Räthen erwehlt und einer//  
je zu zeiten genommen werde, der disem amt//  
und der schul am glegnesten, komlichsten//  
und nuzlichsten seyn. //

Das auch sömliche ordnung überal dann//  
 vorgelesen und erneüweret werdet auch in//  
 Beyseyn der SchulMeisteren, und aller deren //  
 die in der schul arbeitend. Hact. tenor Legum d anno 1559 [last number unclear]//

Zu abstellung der unordnungen und mißbräuchen[*left margin: §§*]//  
 in den schulen habend die gelehrten und vorstehenden der Kirch//  
 und schulen allhie in der stadt Zürich zu wolffahrt und gutem//  
 der jugend, und schuleren frömbden und heimschen die Sazung//  
 und ordnungen, wie die hiervon von einem Artikel an den//  
 anderen fleißig vergriffen sind, berathschlaget und gestelt, so //  
 nun mein Herren beyde Räth un bestädigung derselb//  
 durch Hrn. M. Heinrich Bullinger vordersten predicanten an//  
 gesucht, und den Herren BurgerMeister Müller M. Johannes//  
 Wägman und M. Bernhard Sprüngli, so von einem Ehrsam//  
 Rath zu den schulen geordnet sind, mein herren verstan//  
 diget, wie sie die gestelten sazungen der länge nach geha...//  
 und befunden, daß solches alß ein nothwendig, nützlich, loblich//  
 und ein ehrlich Ding und ansehen seye, haben gedachte mine//  
 Herren die Räth, auf obengezeigten fürtrag und bericht//  
 die ernempten gestelten ordnungen und sazungen//  
 von Oberkeit wegen Confirmiert und bestätigt, und wollend//  
 daß denselben mit lehren, lesen, auch allem dem so zu der//  
 schul dienet getreulich gelebt und nachgangen werde.//  
 Dicta donstags den 12. Tag Januarii. Ao. Dni. 1559.//  
 Fertbg Hr. BurgerMeister Müller//  
 und Beyd Räth.//  
 Stadtschriber//



## *School Minutes (Acta Scholastica)*

∴



## School Minutes, Compiled by Johannes Wolf (1560–1561)

See website <http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/scholim1559>: School Minutes, Text (B): (1) Johannes Wolf (1560–1561) (Transcription Emmanuela Chiapparini and ASG)

[f. numbered] o

Schulherren-Ampts // Acta publica // By verwaltung Johannis Wolffen // pfarrhers Zum Frowmünster // 1560 //

[f. numbered] 1

Anno 1560, am Meytag, als mine Herren Verordneten zur // lehr, in gemeyner Versammlung, der Collegien und schu<o>len allhie // inn Zürich, flißigs nachfragen gehebt, ward demnach ich Hans Wolff, // zum Schulherren erwellt, und ob allen Schulordnungen vest zu hallten, // mitt ernst ermanet,: Alles in bysin miner Gn. Herren Burger= // meyster Müllers vnd Seckelmeyster Sprünglins, vorgedachter miner // Herren Predicanten, Läseren etc. Darumbe der Schul // zu gutem, ich, was ye zu Ziten, inn Sachen die Schul belangend, an= // bracht, erkennt und gehandelt, inn diß Buch ingeschriben. etc. //

Sambstags, deß 4. Meyens. //

Hielt ich die erste Versammlung, darinn ward gehandelt: // Erstlich gegen Johannem Fryen, deßhalb, das er weder im Examine, // noch harnach, als er darumb berüfft, erschinen, gar hochtragen, // der trunckenheit ergen, imm nüwen wirtzhus // zum shluck, das er // damaln selbs bekennt, getruncken, etc., das er deß abstahn, sich // dergstallt hallten sölte, das man sinthalb nit mehr verwißens haben, // und böisers mitt imm fürnehmen müßte. Demnach ward ime // Fryen, dem Göldj, Grebel, und Sulzer anzeigt, das diewil sy ires // unordenlichen läbens halb, und nit zum dienst der Kilchen etc. ab der // frömbde heimberüfft, söltind sye wie ander inn alle lectiones gahn, // und sich da behören laßen. //

Zum anderen ward erkennt das Abraham Schnider, sölte behört // werden, in bysin Herren Seckelmeyster Sprünglins, J[unker] Jacob Haben, H[err] Lud. Lavaters, beider Schulmeisteren, und minen: nammlich in // Greca et Latina linguis: ouch ettlich fragen in Theologia an inn thun etc. //

Zum dritten, das denen, so an Hansen Göldins Hochzeit getantzt, // nachgefragt, und was funden anzeigt wurde. das dann beiden // Herren Hallern und Wicken befolhen. //

[f. iv, numbered] 2

Zum vierden, das alle Knaben, so verschines Examens, // der Schul erlaßen, söllind die Lectiones publicas all // hören, ouch M[agister] Urichs, das ich inen anzeige und den // Herren Professorib. iren namen verzeichnet zu senden sölle. // Daby warend Herr M[agister] Heinr. Bullinger. H[err] Gualther, // H[err] Lavater, Her Haller, H[err] Wick. H[err] Simler, H[err] D[ocor] Geßner.//

Sambstags deß 18. Meyens. //

Inn der anderen versamlung ward anbraacht und erkennt // was hernach geschriben staht. //

Erstlich als verschiner Censur, von Wilhelmen Wäber // anzeigt, wie er hochfärtig, und das selb ußstieße inn unantworten // gegen Ehren Lüthen, vnd insonders inn Jünckerischer Cleidung, // darzu gar hinläßig imm studieren. Deßhalb er beschickt // und gewarnot, diewil er zimmlich alt, // ouch alltag an die // frömde [Zerm] geschickt zewerden, begärte, ouch ein Ehren frommen // Vatter gehan, demm erbarkeit bas dann sölich lichtferig wäßen ge= // fallen, insonders aber er und ander deßhalb ungunst und // verachtung inen selbs hiemitt ufflüdind. Sölte er die und // andere vormaln an inne geschähene Warnung, by ime zu // beßerung reichen laßen, und darner für das durch die // verordneten Herren, denen flißigs uffsähen uff inn und ander // zehaben ernstlich befolhen, nit witer kön[...] klegt käme, und // deshalb schwärers gegen ime fürgenommen wurde. //

Zum anderen, Als H[err] Adam Winterlj ettlicher schmachschriften // so im Lectorio über inne funden, ercklagt. Jst abgeredt, // diewil das anderen vormaln ouch begägnot, vnd villicht // mehr beschähen möchte, das den stipendiaten, so morndes // sonst ouch beschickt werdend, gesagt werde, sy sölichs schribens // absandind, oder erwartind, was unser gn. Herren, denen //

[Text (B)] 3

sölichs als ein maleficischen Handel zugehörig, gegen // dem thätter handlen wurdind, sich ouch deß versähind, man // werde ein flißig uffsähen daruff haben. // Zum dritten, Als Herr Collinus anzeigt, das Rosenstock, so geurloubt, // in sin lection gange, und daruff gefragt, ob ime und anderen // geurloubten, das zu gestatten, die wil sy es frilich uff hoffnung // widerummb zu kommens thuind, Jst abgeredt, diewil man // inen das Lectorium, so frömbden und heimbschen offen, nitt vorbeschließen // könne, und aber sy das uff ein anders bruchind. Sölle die sach Herren // Burgermeyster Müllern anzeigt, und Rosenstocks vatter und bruder // gesagt werden, Er möge inn lectiones gahn oder nitt, man werde inne // wyter nit annemmen, noch sich sinen beladen etc. //



Daby warend M[agister] Heinrich Bullinger, H[err] Rudolff Walther, H[err] Lavater,  
// H[err] Wick H[err] Simler, H[err] Doctor Geßner Her Collinus. //

Sontags 19. Meyens. //

Beschicktend wir, Collinus, Simler, und ich uff die Stuben alle Stipendiaten // so lectiones publicas hörend, denen zeigt ich an, das sy die lectiones // mitt fließ hören, und was zu erlütterung deß texts gesagt wurde // in besondere bücher uffschribind, damit sy es in besonderen und // gemeinen examinibus. köntind zeigen. Glicher gestalt ward inen, // was Schmachschrifften halb erkennt, fürghallten Vnd den vieren // Göldj, Grebel, Fryen und Sulzer besonder gesagt, sy fließiger dann // bishar die lectiones besuchen weltind, daß wir gemelte dry sy // uß uns selbs, und günstiger meinung weltind gewarnet haben.//

Zinstags 21. Meyens //

Als hievor verschines Sambstags erkennt, das Herren // Burgermeyster Müllern, vß was ursachen Rosenstock geurloubt, // anzeigt wurde, hab ich ime Herren Burgermeystern anzeigt, wie // obstaht. //

[Text (B)] 4

Mittwochen 22. Meyens. //

Als Lienhart Lindener, so vor im Stipendio gewäsen, und deß // vor einem Jar beroubt, darumm der unfließig, nachts uff der // gaßen ummgloffen, und anders thon, ouch letstlich gewibet: für // mine Herren versamlet kommen, Begert, der ursachen ime // abgeschlagenen Stipendiums schriftlichen schin, den zu bringen // in Toggenburg, da er verhört und vertröst zu der // kilchen dienst gebrucht ze werden. Ist erkennt das ich // den selben Herren schriben worumm und wie er geurloubet: // und so er sich sovil gebeßert und so wol in irem examen erzeigt // daß sy imm ein kilchen vertruwen, mögind, wir ime das // gonnen etc. luth der Mißin in der trucken ligender // Copy. //

Als dann M[agister] Hans Fries, luth eines Zedels, ouch ander an= // zeigt, das Hußher und Trüb einanderen geschlagen: Sy daruff // erhört, und sich funden, das Trüb vom Hußheren Anlaß // hehebt, Tobias Buchman den Hußheren an Trüben // gehetzt etc. Ouch Hußher vier tag onerloubt ußgsin, und // sonst gar stoltz und unghorsam sich erzeigt, Ist Trüben, // und er sich nit mitt schryen und schlahen sonder anzeigung // sinem preceptorj, so imm leids beschähe, hernach räche und // sonst wie bißhar fließig sye. Dem Buchman gesagt, das // wann man sines Ehren Vetteren und siner armen muter // nit verschont, hette, man inn etwarumm gebüßt, sölle aber // aber [sic!] nit mehr kommen, sonder ansähen, das er alt, und ander // Jung vor bösem zu verhüten ietz gesetzt sye. Hußher // aber ist M[agister] Hans Friesen inn der Schul mitt der ruten // zu straffen zuckennt etc. //

Es ist ouch fäsy, der winterlins schmachzedel funden gefraget, // und als er nüt wüßen wellen, Herr Lavatern und mir, // ander mehr zu befragen befolhen, und was wir funden, widerumm für zebringen. //

[Text (B)] 5

Den Ersamen wolgelerten Herren // Achilli Decan und pfarrhern zu Jon. // Schwil: Samuel Kennhas Camerer und // pfarrher zu Neßlow: Christian Negelj // pfarrher zu Kilchberg, unseren sonders // lieben Herren und guten Fründen.//

Unßer fründlich Grüße sampt was wir eher liebs und guts vermögend, // zuvor Ersam, Wolgelert, lieb herren und gut fründ. Als Lienhart // Lindiner, Zönger, uff hütt dato vor uns erschinen und anzeigt. Dommalen // er by üch, zu der Kilchen dienst angenommen zewerden begärt, daruff siner // lehr und könnens von Üch erkonnnet, ouch wol getröst, und das er der ur- // sach ime von uns abgeschlagenen Stipendiums schriftlich schin brächte, // gewisen. Begärte er gantz trungtlich, wir in be- // dennckung siner armut und hohen notdurfft, ime den selbigen // mitteylen weltend. Diewil dann von ihrer und siner selbs // halb, diß sin begären nit unbillich, uns ouch keinswägen beschwärllich. //

Habend wir ime das nitt abschlahen, sonders uch der // warheit gerne berichten wollen. Fügend uch hienuff zu wüßen // Das er Lindiner ein Zitlang in unser gnadigen Herren // Stipendio zu der lehr und ehr Gottes erhallten, volgendes aber // sich nitt allein mitt unfliß, nächtlichen umlouffen, und anderen // so Jung Lüth zethun gewon sind, vergangen: Sonder ouch über // ettlich mal beschächne Warnungen darinn verharret und letschlich // sin stipendium, mitt demm Her wider unßerer Herren Ord= // nungen vorn Jaren gewibet, sonst verschütt, deßhalb er letsch= // lich gar geurloubet. Dergstalt das wenn er mittler Zit // sich so schinbarlich gebeßeret, er deß. Kundschaft haben. und // in unnerem Examine bestan möge, alsdann ime zehilff // unsere Herren abermaln, was inen gelägen und gefellig thun // werdind. Wann nun ir unser lieb und güt frund // inne in üwerem Examine ouch sinem by vöh. gefürten wandel // so geschickt funden oder nachmaln zu funden Hoffnung habend. das ir // inne zu der Kilchen dienst zebruchen tougenlich und gefaßt // achtend: mögend wir ime das selbig und was im sonst //

[numbered] 6

sonst guts beschiht, von siner frommen Ellteren ouch // sinen selbs wägen gar wol gonnen. Das wie // ich gar guter meinung uff sin begären zuschribend: // Als die üch und üweren Kilchen, was fründschaft // uns müglich zu bewisen gantz gutwillig und geneigt // sind. Üch hirmitt Gott dem Herrenn—sin // gnedigen schirm gantz wolbefähende. Geben und // verwart mitt unsers Schulherrn zu sigel, //

Zürich. 23. Meyens anno 1560. //  
 Schulherr und verordnete // zu der Lehr Zürich //

[numbered] 7

Domalen ward ouch den Knaben das Stipendium gebeßert, und // erkennt, das dem Sprünglj, so iüngst geurloubet, dise nechste pfingst. // Frowfasten werden sölte.//

Es ward ouch H.[ern] Walthern und M.[agister] Friesen befolhen, der Bucheren // seligen son, gegen Herren Obman Stoltzen und pflegeren Zefürderen, // ob ime zu einem Handwerk gehulffen wurde etc. //

In diser versamlung warend M[agister] Heinr. Bullinger, Walther, // Wick, Haller, Lavater, Collinus, Frisius, Simler, Pellican. //

Zinstags deß 11. Brachmon: //

Als hieuor am [ersten] vierden Meyens erkennt das Abraham Schnider behört, // Hab ich daßselbig mitt Hilff Herren Seckelmeyster Sprünglins, Herren Lavaters, // Simlers und beider Schulmeysteren ußgericht, von gedachten Herren ime die // Kundschafft zegäben befelch empfangen. Wiewol er in beiden Sprachen schlächtlich, // und in Thelogia minder wol bestanden, [hab] deßhalb man inne nit könne // sonders hochrügen: Habe man denocht ettlicher Gutes verstands an= // zeigungen, und insonders bißhar erzeigts erbars wannfels halb gute hoffn= // ung, so er flißig, und min Herren ime behulffen sin werdind, möge er // mittler zit ouch ettwan ein [Lucken] verträgen. //

Mittwochen, deß 12. Brachm. //

Vff disen tag zeigte ich minen Herren an Abraham Schniders halb // wie obstaht: Daruff erkennt, das imm gesagt: Man welte inn uff // Hoffnung sine beßerung by der lehr und vorerkentem Stipendio // beliben laßen mitt dem geding: das er die Lectiones flißig be- // suche, und sich in Latina lingua beßonders mitt hören eins guten // authoris und schriben vil übe, damitt er harnach in einem // rechten examine gar bestande etc. das alles mitt mehr Worten // domaln mitt im geredt ward. //

[numbered] 8

Demnach zeigte ich an Heinrich Vsterins begären, das ime // zu einer Badenfahrt mitt fürsatz uß Her Hallers ampt // geholffen wurde, denn er dero von wegen sine rud Und // besorgts bruchs notdurfftig, als er darinn M[agister] Peters // Bruchschniders rhats gepflegen. Daruff Herren Hallern // befolhen, die sach by M[agister] Peter zu erkennen, und so er sin not= // durfftig, Heinrichen by 5 lb. uff künftige frowfasten ze= // lihen, doch das er Heinrich erst inn Hundstagen. so die lection // ufgeschlagen fare und sich halte daniden das kein gklegt komme, // etc. //

So denne Herr Ludwig Lavater und ich Wolfenspergern und // Hüber deß Schmach-  
briefs halb erkennet und nüt anders // dann wie Trüb anzeigt, funden, das ich anzeigt:  
Jst be= // schloßen, diewil der sach kein grund zefinden, sölle sy // beruwen, und Fäsin  
gesagt werden, wenn harnach er ettwas // funde, einem Schulherren, oder so es unser  
Herren ald burg [...] // belanngte, einem Burgermeister anzeigen etc. //

Als ouch inn dieser versamlung Her Wick anzeigt, wie unsere Studenten und Schul-  
er uff dem Kilchoff by den Kilchtüren // wider unser Herren Mandat stündind dem ho-  
chzit: zelugen Ward geraten, das er Wick und Herr Haller, // welche das chon erfahren,  
und die Zom Frowmünster // irem Zuchtmeister, die Schuler iren Schulmeistern //  
darumm Zestrafen befolhen, die aber der Ruth ent- // wachsen am stipendio büßen  
laßen. //

Wie demnach Herr Doctor Geßner anzeigt, den unfliß // der vieren so ab der  
frömbde beschickt, Göldins, // Fryen Sulzers und Grebels: Ward gerahten Das // sy  
merdes beschickt und gefragt wurdind, ob sy ge=// horsam sin weltind, und darnach  
sy sagtind gehandelt wurd. etc.//

[numbered] 9

Jn dieser versamlung warend H[err] Bulllinger, D. Geßner, Wick, // Lavater, Simler, Col-  
linus, Walther, und Haller. //

Morndes gedachte Herren, vßgnommen D. Geßner, und ich, versamlet, // Handlet mitt  
den vier gedachten sovil, d. sy zusagind die Lectiones // zu hören etc. Ließend mir  
durch Herren Bullinger sagen, d. ouch ich wilhem Webern beschickte und inn Herr  
Zwinglins lection // wyst. Das volgents Sambstags gegen ime ußgricht, ouch domale //  
demm fäßy, was mir hievor befolhen anzeigt. etc.//

Sambstags 29. Brachm. //

Hielte ich minen Herren für wie Jacobus Brunner uß Bern [...] // von sinen Herren  
Heimbrüfft begärte, ims ein Kundschaft sines // allhie gefürten wandels geben wurde.  
Die ime von minen Herren erkennt, und von mir geschriben und zugstellt Sontags dar-  
nach. luth der selben Copy. B. fol. seq. //

Sambstag 6. Höwmon: //

Zeigt ich an das under almusengnoßen einer abgangen und sölte ein für=// schlag bes-  
schähen. Darum domale benamset wurdend dry, so M[eister] Fries // angeschriben  
Stolz, Bluwler, und Ott, luth deß fürschrags Copy. //

So danne her Docter Geßner sich abermaln erclagt der vier heimbe=// rüfften un-  
flißens, und man vil guter meinungen dazu redt, ward // erkant, d. die Bußen uff das  
versumen der letzgen gesetzt von inen //

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den versumenden, allezit so des beschähe, solte als bar durch den // Pedellen einsetzen werden, Doch hievor diß erkantnus // Herren Burgermeister Müllern anzeigt und sines thals herum geläbt werden. //

Als ouch her Sebastian Guldibeck Schulmeister zum Frowmünster // anzeigt, und sonst ouch anderscho har klegte komen d. die provisos // und Collaboratores, ettwan spat, ettwan gar nit inn die Schülen // kommind, und unflüßig sigünd: ist abgeredt, d. iren iedem sommer // er ußblibt und nieman an sin statt gestelt, luth der Schul ord // nung, ein schilling zu buß an sinem Stipendio inngehalten werden // und der Schulmeister daruff ein vfsähen und es anzeichnen // söllt. Doch das min Herr Müllers rhat ouch darum ge=// pflägen werde. //

By disen Sachen warend die nachbenampten Herren, Bullinger walter// amman, Lavater, Simler, D. Geßner, Sebastian Guldibeck, und // ich. //

Vff dem Imbis selbigen tags, giengend Herr Bullinger und ich zu // Herren Müllern gen Stadelhofen in sin Hus, und uff anzeigung // vorgesetzter beider beschwården und unser darüber gethoner rhat=// schlagen: befah der Herr uns in dem selben mitt ernst für ze=// faren, und was uns darüber begegnete siner Hilff, und sowie\*// Deß begårts d. er die vier ungehorsamen selbs in bisin ander// zur lehr verordnet. herren zu schulen, günstigs willens, uns // tätind zu ime versähen. //

In vier Jahun sagen darnach am Fritag als man Herr Cunraden von Rapper=//schwil predig hören wolt, ward in bysin miner Herren Examina-// torn, den provisos und collaboratores beider Schulen anzeigt [...]// weltind in der Schul mehr flüßes dann bißhar beschähen anwenden. Dann // den Schulmeystern befolhen, welicher einichs stund versumdt, oder // gar spat kömme: den um ein behemmsch zu büßen uff zezeichnen, und // den Herren so inen ir Stipendium gebend anzezeigen damitt // man deß berüffens und schules überhebt. etc. //

[numbered] 11

B. Jacobj Brunners Berners Kundschaft Copy. //

Uniuersis et singulis hasce letteras cognituris, salutem in Domino. // Cum Jacob. Brunnerus Bernensis reuocatus in patriam, // testimonium acta apud nos vitae sibi dari postularet: // nos, Scholarcha et caeteri Scholae Tigurinae presides, // ei, quale et ipse mereri videbatur, et nos perhibere potera=// mus, testimonium hisce letteris non grauare prohibemus. Ac // quantum, nobis quidem, de eius vita ac moribus deque // studys est cognitum, testificamur: cum quo apud nos fuit // hoc toto biennio, in Sacrosanctae Theologiae, [studyse] // bonarum Literarum atq artium studys operam sedulam, // posuisse: preceptores suos pie coluisse: bene et modeste // vitam egisse.

Quam eius pietatem et industriam // ipsi complectimur: officia observantiamque diligimus: eoque // illum ipsum omnibus bonis diligentissime commendamus. // Datæ et Scholarchæ nostri sigillo obsignatæ, //

Tigurj pridie Cal. Jul. Anno 1560. //

[numbered] 12

Sambstags

Als M[eister] Hans Fryeß ettlich Knaben in publicas Lectiones gefürderet zewerden begärt. // Das Herr Lavater und ich hinder unseren Herren nit thun wollen, und ich inn umm die // Zwillffe uff die Stuben bescheid. ouch min Herren dahin berüfft, inen sin begären // selbs ze öffnen: ward im uff gethonen fürtag zu antwort, diewil er selbs // beckantlich nüt Hebraischs geläßen haben, sölte er innhalt der Ordnung den // (curs) ußführen, und denn miner Herren bescheids ferner erwarten. Daby // warend H[err] Walther, Altschulherr, Collinus, Her Lavater, Simler.//

Domaln ward ouch erkennt: Diewil Appenzellers und Schwytzers elteren // begärtind das sy beid heimberüfft wurdind, sölte inen des selbig vergonnt sin // und den Jungen das sy heimkömind, zugschriben: Ouch dem zu strafe [...] // Diewil es daselbst ger thüwer, gen Basel zezühen erloubt, und ouch zu=// gschriben worden. //

Fritags 16. Augsten //

Als Fättli sampt sinem Son Stoffel zu mir kommen und anzeigt, wie er ein // Dienst in Toggenburg hette sonche er kundschaftt der Ursachen sines urlaubes // brächte beschied inn für mine Herren Verordneten Zur lehr, die habend sich // erkennt. Diewil Fattlj. sich mitt ungehorsams, unfliß und unerbarem wel[...]// dermaßen gehalten das man inne nit mehr für ein guten schuler halten können // ouch deßhalb geurloubet. Könne man inn nit wol zu einem predigkanten // geschickt achten und fürderen, so wurde inn ouch die Kundschaftt so man ime mitt der warheit geben möchte zu wenigen frommen erschieße mögen // Deswegen man inne der Zit kein Kundschaft zegeben geachtet. Ob er aber deß // nit zufriden, möge er minen Herren Burgermeister um ander Bscheid// ansuchen, was die thüynd oder heißend sölle billich geschähen. Daby // ward ouch erkennt, d. ich minem Herren Burgermeister von Cham de[...] // Handel anzeigte, wie wir nit gern hinder unseren Herren sölichs thun // wellen, damitt nit ettwas unruwen daher wie von anderen unge=// schickten personen erfolgte etc. Das ich glich dem herren deß tags anzeigt zum // Schnaggen in bysin herren stattschriber Aschers. //

[12v]

Domaln bracht ich an, daß Fäsy, Ustery, Wäber, Waser und ander // begärtind an die frömde geschickt zewerden. Zu dem daß zum // Frowmünster ouch zwen groß

worind, villicht deß ouch begirig. den // über [ke] erkennt. Diewel man derzit nit wol wüßte wo // hin sy zeschicken. sy ouch sich liederlich gehalten: und ettlich mehr // uff beßerung irs stipendiums denn des wandlen fruugind // söltend sy harnach beschickt, und inen die meinung fürgeholt // werden. Des man derzit kein komlichs platz wüste dahin // ine fugklich zezühen, und es gegen fröling villicht alles beßer // ouch die reyß ringer werde, sy bißher so unflüßig gwäßen daß man zu inen wenig guter hoffnung haben mögen: söllind // sy sich disen winter hie bliben, die lectiones flüßig besuchen // und bas schicken, wann denn O[...] sy in künftigen examen, wol und hie zwüschent in presentis examinibus wol bestahn, // von Herren Profeßoribus, das sy flüßig gwäßen, gute Kund-// schafft bringend wolle man inen den kommliche ort ze // zuhen behelffen und beraten sin, und hiezwüschent das man ir // Stipendium ettwelicher vast gemehret werde sähen. Hie by warend Herren M[eister] Heinr. Bullinger, Wolfgang Haller, // Collinus, Lavater, Fries, Wick, Walther und ich. //

Fritags 20. Septembr. //

Als min Herr gfatter M[eister] Heinr. Bullinger der vieren Gölding // Grebels, Fries und Sultzers examen hielt, Zeigt ich an was d. Hospinianus. Bumans halb geschriben, und sonst der übrigen // aller halb zügle. Daruff mir befohlen Bumans // halb min Herr Obman Köchlj Zbitten ins Buman umm ein // stüwr an sin kranckheit kosten zehälffen Der Zucht und // meysterschaft halb, darinn die zu Basel söltind gehalten // werden, söllte ich dem Rector und der Universität schriben // daß sy zu unseren Jungen gut sorg hettind etc.—Daby warend // H[err] Bull, Walth., Wick, Haller Fries Simler altschulher und ich etc. //

[numbered] 13

Zinstags, 24. Sept.

Als ich montags mitt Herren Obman geredt, er by heid by Herren Burgerm://

Mülleren gesucht und mir anzeigt, das ich Bumans Handel minen Herren // den Rechenherren fürtragen sölle, ich das selbig thon: ward mir erkannt // VII g. die ich von Herren Obman empfanen und dem iüngling zuschicken sölte, mitt anzeigung, das er darus Doctor, Scherer, Apotegger, und sin Herr // wirt abzalen sölte. //

Sambstags, 28. Sept.

Als H[err] Hans Herter begärt Joachimo sinen bruder, so im Stipendio zum Großen // Münster erhalten, gen Genf zezühen und da selbst zestudieren vergonnt werden // möchte. Ward im die Antwort, Min Herren bedüchte das sölichs nitt für // den Jungen, nitt für imme selbs, und vil weniger für sy were Dann der // Jung allhie by im vil in beßerer Zucht gehalten wurde dann villicht by // frömden so die sach inen nit so haben angelagen sin lueßend. So wäre es // thürer und wurde villicht mittler Zit ime selbs Zeschwär werden. Minen // Herren aber möchte es geg. anderen ein bößen

inbruch bringen und des // ander elter denn er, denen des wandlen unlang hievor abgeschlagen. Villicht // daß sich hettind zeercklagen Welte er aber uff siner meinung beharren // und den bruder in sinem kosten hinweg schicken ließind sy des geschähen // mitt vorbehalt ir Hand gegen im offen zehaben, und inn widerum in ir // stipendium vfenemen unverbunden zefinden. Deß er Herter zefrid. // und begärt der bruder ine Zenolen\* vermanet wurde. das denn geschach. //

Domaln als ich Felix Engelhart Her Docter Engelharts seligen sons begären // daß er sich examinieren und so er gut erfunden Zur lehr in die schulen ze=// bruchen urbüting fürgehallten, ward anzeigt wie ettwan\* abkäme // und gittig villicht genuß de suchts, des aber vergäbens und zeletzt er=// kennt, d. M[eister] Heinr. Bulling mitt Herren Seckelmeister Sprünglin, // ich mitt H\* Felix Engelhart redte, und es ouch irres gefallens, kein // beßorgens darhinder, wurde man es gern mitt im <f.> versuchen //

Domale wurdend fürgestellt Helias Schwitz, Johannes Appenzeller so von wandlen // kommen, hattend gutter kundschaft wurdend vermanet die lection: und predigt, //

[13v]

zehören und dermaßen ire Sachen schicken d. wenn sy mittler Zit // Zum examen gevordert, wol bestandind, daby warend // H[err] Walther, Haller, M[eister] Heinrich, Collinus, Simlerus, Wickis und // ich. //

Zinstags nach gesagten Tag rede ich mitt J. Felix Engellhart, der sagt // des sie Vetter etwer Zu gebrucht wurde, imm lieb. Das er aber abkü=// nit\* zu wüßen wäre. Volgents donstags fragt ich M[eister] Heinrich\* // er gegen Herren Seckelmeist. ußgericht, sagt er, d. imm nach ein antwort // sölte gefallen. //

Samstag 16. November. //

Betagt ich Tobiam Buchman. Der ward gefragt, weshalb // sin Herr Vetter Theodorus in uß sinen Hus ußgestoßen und // was er mitt deß Husmagt zeschaffen. Antwortet er: // Sin Herr Vetter inn mitt der Junkfrowen im Heg\* gehabt und // deßhalb ußgestoßen er aber und die Jungkfroen\* gar nüt // an einanderen zesprächen nich\* tätlich vtzid\* mitt einandern // gehandelt Hetten. Daruff erkennt diewil // er Coench\_etr H[err] Haller, so der sach etwas Gericht sin sölte, nitt // zugägen ouch zubesorgen daß er und die magt longnens\* bis // uff andrer Zit sich vereinbaret: Sölte der sach angestellt sin // bis Herr Haller ouch dafür\* wurde und Herr Walther sampt // Herr Wick die Junckfrow Hiezteinschent\* beschicken deß erinner // im: daß ir ve\_\* langme eröffineth imm väst nachteilig // sin würde Darum sy die warheit sagen sölte und dem // das beschähen witer näch \_\_\_\_\*. Daby // warend Herr M[eister] Heinr. Bulling H[err] Wick und ich etc. //



Sontags 17. November. //

Ward Censur im Collegio Zum Frowenmünster gehalten, und // gesagt: Dem Hußherren: d. er Bekanntnis und andere exerciti- // ret: wie ettwan beschähen. Jnen allen d. sy den platz vor der //

[numbered] 14

kilchen, so unverschonet der Kilchen, begrebt, und etc. bishar nit one // verletzung gemeined\* Burgerschafft mitt geschwätz und anderem // mißbrucht, wiben, und iren Zuchtmeistern v. ein platz de sy sich // mitt libs übungen er\_ \* möchtend: fragen söltind, alles mitt mehr // worten irem herren zuchtmeister befolhen und denen im Oberen Collegio // glichergstalt zesagen Herr Wicken angehenckt: d. sy ouch fürohin ire // parret gegen ehren lüthen abzühen, und nitt wie bisher allein ruck // söltind etc. //

Montags 25. November //

Als Herr Doctor Geßner sich schriftlich erclagt, das Wilhelm Wäber iij. // Conrad Waser ij. Bigel ij, Vstery j. Trüb j. Huser j. lectiones // versumpt: mitt pitt ich ernstlich ob der Satzung Hallten, und des die überträtter // gestraft wurdind verschoffen weltind: Ließ ich die Bußen // durch den pedellen fordern. Dem antwortend: Wäber, es wärend nūw vfsitz thätint nit gut: schlüge mir und fäsin des recht // für manglet mir geles inn die metzg; \_ \* man jet.\* d. er mir wurde Waser aber\* Doctor und ich soltend uns\* schämen inen gelt abzunehmen, // den, was vil meh. \_ \* söltind: wäre mir nüt schuldig etc. Ußtery // überkam entschuldigung vom Doctor selbs in gschrift: Huser ouch, Trüb stalt sich stets\* ghorsam.

Zinstags 26. Novembr.

Hatt ich Herren Bullingers und H[err] Welyers rhat was geg. st.\* // ungehorsamen fürgenommen wurdend eins erstlich by anderen // Jungen, so darby gsin. Der sachen grund zu hören demnach minem // Herren alten Burgmeister (was Herr Müller) die Sach für // gehalten. Also fend ich by selig. Trüben. Dem Huser, und Rikenman // das Fäsins fürgeben wär deßhalb ich Herren Müllern der sach bericht. // Der berufft uff morndrigen Tag Herren Seckelmeister Sprüngli, // Herren Parr Herren und die Herren gelehrten für die selbigen die ungehorsamen zubetagen. //

[numbered] 15

Mittwochen, 27. Novembr.

Als um 12. Nachmittag Hernach genempte mine Herren zu // samen kommen, Herr Burgerm: Müller, H[err] Seckelmeister Sprüngli, H[err] PfarrHerr Schmid, H[err] Bullinger, H[err] Walther, // H[err] Doctor Geßner, H[err] Collinus, H[err] Haller, H[err]

Ludwig Lavater // und ich. Hielt ich gedachten minen Herren, mitt vor // laufender Danksagung ires gnädigen erscheinens, ouch meld // der Satzungen und mich zu sölichen fürtrag bewegender ursach, // das für wie ich uf ernstlichs ansuchen H[err]\* d. Geßners die bu\_\* // wie obstaht insich laßen und gedachte ungehorsams fanden etc. //

Vnd als uf sölichs Wäber und Waser inhin genommen, ich inen vil // gedachte Handlung für hielt, warend, Wäber aller dingen // anders denn der nüwen vfsetzen, und des er des in schimpf. // geredt: Waser ouch alles onecht des schämens beckäntli // und was gesagter Waser vil frächer vor minen Herren // denn gegen pedellen mitt Heuerer anzeigung das er nüt sche.\* // etc. //

Vff sölichs min Herren sich erkantend, das sy beit\* ire ungehorsam. // und hochmut zu büßen, die gevorderten bußen erlegen, von Herren Burgermeister wol geschulet und ein tag und // nacht in Wellenberg gelegt werden söltind, damalen // erkennt alle Studenten sy wärend Stipendien oder nitt, welichs lectiones // publicas hortined\*, sölind eind Schulhere ghorsame globen etc. //

\_bents als ich heimkommen erzeit sich Wäber mitt erlegen der // buß und zusäg vilfaltiger beßerung etc. Aber Wasers // muter bracht böße Wort.//

Bigel bracht ein Psalmum Carminum explicatum. Den nam ich für die // buß. //

Montags, 2. Decembr. //

Berichtend H[err] Walther und H[err] Wick mine Herren was Jacob wirt // Jsenmans magt die Buchman solt genommen haben, antzeigt. Und // Diewel in iro fürgeben und Buchmans aster antwort sich er // funden, den sy beids ein anderen zur Egenomen, sölte er iro wa //

[numbered] 16

erbietens, wo zu man siner dienste bedörfte, gebrucht werden. // Ob aber er im Examins zu schwach erfunden, als dann // söllet man inne Wyter zu erhalten nit verpflichtet sin, Daby // warend H[err] Wick, Walther, M[eister] Heinrich Lavater, Collinus, Simler, ich und D. peter\* wolt nüt zur sach rhaten. //

C. Mörickofers Kundschaft Copy. //

Uniuersis et singulis letteras hasce lecturis Salutem in Dno. // Cum Balteßarus Merickoferus Schafhusianus, revocari // se in priam diceret, et iudicy de vita apud nos acta, eq. // suis ipsius studys atque moribus nostri testimonium sibi dari // postularet, nos scholarcha ac ceteri Tigurinae Scholae presides. // nec nullum nec lene eius virtuti deberi testimonium, eoque irum hec // tribuendum arbitraty sumus. Ac quantum nobis quedam, de eique vita // ac moribus deque studijs constat, ipsi testificamur, eum quamdiu // Tiguri convocaturus est, in bonarum artium inprimisque sacrae Theologiae studijs operam sedulam posuisse, praeceptores suos per officiose // et peramanter

obseruasse, tum alias probam modestamque Vitam // egisse. Quam eique pietatem et diligentiam sic ipsi complectimur // sicque bonis omnibus praedicatam volumus vt\* hasce letteras ei, non solum ut iustum ac debitum testimoniam, verum etiam ut firmum // et graue preconium dandas iudicauerimus. Valet[\*] D... // et Scholarcha neque sigillo obsignatae. Tigurj 14. Cal. Febr. an. 1561.

[16v]

Zinstags 25. Hornungs

Zeigt ich an den hirtten Vatter, Zindels muter, begärtind das die iren // ab der frömbde heim beschickt wurdind, so verstünde ich wol das // M[eister] Eßling ouch müd wäre dem Buman wyter für gesetzen, weiß ab // wonlichs fründ gesümet, trüge ich kein wüßen. So herte ich dergeg. // das Göldj und urich dauß zebeliben begärtind. Daruff ward von Herr.\* // Walthern anzeigt, d. H[err] Rud. Wonlich. sin brüder länger dauß zu // erhalten beschwärllich sin wurde. Also ward erkennt, d. welich\* // zu Straßburg und Basel sind, all, bis an Göldj. heim berufft. // und er Göldj gen Heydelberg zezühen gewisen werd. söllind. //

So denne den vi. Elltesten Stipendiaten, so hieuor ouch ettwan an die // frömbde zekommen begärt, sölich ir pitt der tagen ernstlich ernüwert // und sich träffentlich vil guts erbotten, das ich alles minen Herren domaln anzeigt. Ward inen allen, und nammlich Oßwalden. Fäsin // und Cunraden. Waßer gen Genff: Wilhelmen Wäber und dem // Rickenman gen Basel: Heinrichen Vstery und Jodoco Husherr // gen Berem Zezüh. erloubt: Alles mitt dem geding und anhang // das sy ir frowfasten gelt, den herren so sy zugschickt, gantz werd. laßen\*, // was vorhin davon genommen widerum ersetzten, ire schuldnor so\* // zefrid. stellen söllind, dann man sy nit wellte mitt lären Händen // Die frömbde kommen laßen, das alles mitt mehr worten inen de // maln heiter anzeigt. Ouch sölte ich sy alle und yede mitt furd. // vs, als an D. Calvinum und Bezam gen Genff: an D. Erastum // Heydelberg: D. Junium und hospinianum gen Basel: D. Hallerum // Bernen versähen. Daby warend H[err] M[eister] Heinrich, Collinus, // Geßner Zwingli, Lavater, Wick, Haller, Aman, Walther und

[17r]

Frytags 14. Mertenzen.

Beschach ein Fürschlag zom Frowmünster inns Collegium an Rickenmans und // Hußherrn statt, darum wurdend benamset. //

Jacob Keretz, Heinrich Keretz, eines Räbmans son, wonet vor dem linden // thor, vormaln ouch zwüret im fürschat gwaßen. //

Jacob Pfrunder deß Vatter zu Küßnach gesäßen. //

Hans Vogler deß Sigersten Zom Frowmünster son. //

Hans Großman von Hönng—Habend all das Almusen. // Hans Rudolff Büler  
M[eister] Peter Meyers selig Tochter son. //

So demes ettlich jüngerß auß der provisoren Claßibus //

Rudolff Leman M[eister] Lemans son. //

Hans Schörli, M[eister] Schörlins son //

Jacob Franck Stubenknechts zum Weggen Son. //

Daby warend H[err] Simler, Haller, Wick, Lavater, Aman, // Walther, M[eister] Heinrich, und ich. //

Mittwoch. 9. Aprellens

Wurdend Mathias Hirt, Johanes Wonlich, Helias Hewlin, Nicolaus Zindel // und Wolfgang Buman, so ab der frömbde Heimberüfft, fürgstellt, irer // Schulden kundschaftt ires dauß gefürten Wandels, und insonders gehörter // lectionen halb gefraget, und darauf ermanet ire schuldnere, so bald // inen müglich zuvermügen, in die predginen, lectiones sacras und für auß hebream // fließig zegan, ouch sich irem Stand gemäßer wys\* zu bekleiden vermanet, // und was man sonst mitt inen wol zefriden. //

Als demnach in der undern Schul einer am Almusen abgangen, wurdet // an des selbigen statt fürgeschlagen, Felix Muggler und Marcus Nötzlj. // Daby warend H[err] Baschy, H[err] Walther, Zwingli, M[eister] Heinrich, Lavater, Simler, Collinus und ich. //

Montags 14. Aprellens. //

Ward das Examen gehalten inn der Oberen Schul inn Schulmeysters // Claße, da sy zimlich wol bestündend, deßweg. man mitt M[eister] Friesen deß=// halb des er den Curs gelassen wol zefrid. was. Aber in provisors //

[17v]

Claße bestundend sy schlächtlich, deßhalb die knaben beschulten, und // provisors gesagt ward, Man könnte erkennen den unfluß der Knaben // und hienäbend gedenken, das wenn er in der Schul wäre, mit versung\* // darumm er, damitt deßminder versumpt\* wurde, deßter fürer in d. // Schul sin sich sölte fließen. Die übrigen. Zwo Claßes zu behören // man deß tags nitt wyl hatt, und des morndes\* nach dem Jmbis\_\* // thun H[err] Lavatern, Cholern und den Schulmeister verordnet. //

Volgens Zinstags ward das Examen in der undern Schul gehalten. // Da die in Schulmeysters lection gar wol bestundend, deßhalb m.\* // ime Schulmeister danck sagt angewendts fließes, und inn wyter d.\* // best zethun vermanet. Inn provisors Claße bestundend ettlich zie.\* // deßhalb man ein zimlich vernügen hett, den provisor und die knab. // die sach zu verbeßeren vermanet. Die übrigen Claßes, so // tags nitt möchtend verhört werden, befalch man H[err] Funck deinb // und dem Schulmeister morndes zu behören. //

Inn disen beyder Schulen Examnibus ward erckent, d. Hans // Steffen, K. Keller, Abel Werdmüller fürnes, und die anderen m.\* // inen der Oberen Schul erlaßus söltind von mir beschickt, und im // gesagt werden des sy ir fryheit zu unfließ nitt [G] mißbruchind, auch // sy widerumb inn die Schul gesetzt werdind. Denne // sölind Herr Baschien und ich dem alt. Pfäniger sagen sin son\* // Hette nit ein gut ingenium, wäre darzu alt und unfließig, fie\* // an hold und ußschweiff werden, Deßhalb man inne nit zu ver // kürzten, das selbig guter meinung sölichs by zit anzeigte. //

Der nächsten mittwochen, am morgen, behort man die in // D. Peters Lection, und in H[err] Simlers: ouch M[eister] Zwinglis Hebray.\* // Da die Knaben gar wol, aber inn den vordrig. übel bestünden // doch gab man das zu irer Jugent, und des noch nit lang public\* gwäsen. Nach dem Jmbis, behort man D. Ammianj. und Collinj lectiones, darin sy wol bestundend. D. // Geßners lection ward nitt verhört, deshalb das der merteil // siner zuhöreren an die frömbde geschickt warend. etc. //

[numbered] 17a

Verheyßen, trüwlich halten, aber luth der Satzung sines stipendi // ums entsetzt sin. Doch von wegen der sich in der Schul wol gehalten. // erst nach allernechstkünftiger wienacht frowfasten. //

Wasern ließ ich domaln fragen der buß halb sagt er, es were nit // lang verzogen welet sy noch hütt geben. Beschach umm\* den Jmbis. // Domaln bracht ich an Felixen Engelharts begären, d. er inn stipendium vfge=// nommen und in der Schul Kinder zelehren gebrucht wurde. Also ward er=// kennt d. er in bysin miner herren Examinatoren behört, und nach dem // er bestunde, angenommen oder abgewisen werden sölte. Daby warend // H[err] Haller, Wick, Walther, M[eister] Heinrich Lavater, Simler, ich etc. //

Mittwoch 18. Decembr.//

Als Tobias Buchman begärt man inne by der Schul beliben ließe, ward // nach verläßner satzung, diewil [fr] die Heiter ußtruck glich so[l] wol stennd // und plätz, als stipendia beschloßen, d. er ouch den selb. Platz sölet verwürckt // haben. Aber diewil er gar thrüwlich gedienet, sölet Herr Haller ime // uß dem studenten Amt geben Dabey warend H[err] Haller, Wick, // Walther, M[eister] Heinrich, Lavater, Simler, Fries, ich. //

An°. 1551 Mitwuchen, deß 8. Janüary //

Ward Her Doctor Enngelharts son, genannt Felix behört in // utraque lingua. Latina et Graeca: ouch in Dialectica. und Rhetorica. Bestund // also, d. min Herren vermeintind zu einem schuler hette er wol, aber // zu einem Schulmeister nitt genug geantwortet:

und diewil man // sich zu ime, der lange Zit von der lehr gewäsen, und Zimlich alt, mitt wib, // kinden und Hushallten beladen nitt könnte versähen, der ein Schul-// meystery der provisery versähen könnte, danneben die anderen // Stännnd inn der Schul weder inn noch können möchtind ertragen der // sich nit ouch ließe bruchen zepredigen; könnte man imms nit rhaten. // Das er sich in so große arbeit by se kleinem W\_\* begäbe: darzu hette // man nitt gwalt yeman anzenemen der sich nitt begäbe in predigen // läßens und alle andere dienst da man sin bedörfte. etc. mitt ohn [?] Worten.//

Dabey warend Herr Statthalter Peyer, J. Jacob Geb., M[eister] Heinrich Bullinger, // AltSchulher, H[err] R.\* Walther, H[err] Wick, H[err] Haller, M[eister] Fries. //

18. Jannary Sambstag: //

Ward Marcus Salerus an Abraham wolffen statt, Lector inn der underen Schul, der sin an mich und H[err] gfatter // Sebastianum begärt hatt. //

Als demnach Baltaßar Mörikofer von Schafhusen, so hie // gstudiert, by H[err] Walthern im tisch gwäsen, heim berüfft, und sines fließes und wandels halb kundschaft begärt, ward, uff das im // Herr Walther, fließes, so er in predig und lection hören, ouch stundig // daheim erzeugt, deßlich tugentsams wandels halb wol rundt // und anders miner Herren keinem von gedacht. Merickofer // zu wüßen erkennt, das ims ein gemeyne gute Kundschaft // sölte werd. Die ich ims geschriben luth der Copy etc. //

So dennis Helias Heulin schriftlich an mich begärt ime by // minen Herren zehelfen um erloubnus heim Zezühnen, und // ich obgesetzts tags die ursachen sampt siner pitt anzeügt: ist // ime erloubt: doch das er zu Basel mitt yederman ab // rechne, und im schulden oder anderer sachen halb nit laße einig // klagt nachkommen. //

Daby warend H[err] Gfetter Bastian, H[err] Haller, Wick, Walter, Zwinglj., Lavater, Funck, Simler und ich.

Sambstags Februar j° //

Als unlang hienor gfatter Felix Enngelhart, wie obstadt, // abgwisen und aber sidhar schriftliche werbung an M[eister] Heindr. // Gahn lassen, inn dero er sich nitt allein in d. schul sonder ouch // uff die Cantzel, und wo man sine bedörfte wurde, bruchen // lesen welle mitt ernstlich pitt, man es mitt ims wie einem // anderen versuchen welte etc. Ward erkennt, d. er inn // das best Stipendium deren so noch nitt an der frömbde gwis //

Ist 25. G. angenommen sin sölte, mitt dem geding, das er S\_\* // en predigten, und lectionen hören, allen Schulordnungen under- // worfen, sin wandel füren wie ein ander Stipendiat, und zu // ennd deß iars, oder, so er ime selbs truwet in einem halben in // etc. zu bestahn, widerum examiniert, und so er wol bestanden. // Das groß Stipendium ist 40 g. upgenommen, und luth sines er\_\* //

[numbered] 18

Samstag 19. Aprellen

Ward Censur gehalten, und als allerley mengel der knaben halb // anzeigt, ward die selbigen zu verbeßeren beschloßen wie harnach // von einem an das ander geschriben stadt. //

Hanns Steffan sagt man, diewil er in einer Herberg wäre, da // er zu zächen und müßiggang vil anlaßen Hette, sölte er mitt hilff // M[eister] fryesen umm ein andere Herberg sähen und sich wol halten //

Diewil demnach Rudolf Käller vil zächens halb verlümbdet, ime // des etwan gewert, und nieman bas zu im sähen könnte dann sin vatter, // sölte es dem selben anzeigen werden //

Als ouch beide Schulmeyster und pronisor anzeigtend d. Jacobo Wäbern und // Johannj Gronowern [d.] ir Studieren gmach von statt gienge, und zu // besorgen, wenn man sy glich lang vfenthielte, wäre wenig frucht zu // hoffen. ward M[eister] Frießen und H[err] Lavatern sampt mir befolhen, iren // Ellteren in irem der knaben by sin zesagen, by die Knabend weltind // nun langsam und gmach sin, obes am verstand, oder // am fliß, oder an denen beyden sturk. falte, möchte man nit wüßen, wollte aber // weder die [viel] Ellteren mitt vergäbner hofnung betören, noch die // Knaben so zu handwerck numehr alt gnug versumen, sonder sy // die Elteren, wiewol one abschlahen deß almusens, oder vorbeschlies. // der Schulen, sich was iro nutz sye zu berhaten wüßen, fründtlichster // bester meinung gewarnet haben. //

Jacobus Pfrunder, Jacobus Morgenstern, Christophorus Keller, // Melchior Vieder, Johannes Dumpert werdend all bscholten // unfließens halb, ettlich zächens, und deßhalb das sy anderer ouch // inzugend, wie ouch Brenwald die wurdend dem Schulmeister // befolhen zestraffen. Glicher gstalt ward gredt mitt dem Sirnacher // und Dutwiler. //

Bigels halb ward von Her Sebastiano angezeigt das er by nacht // uß dem Hus uff die gaßen gienge, dem trincken ergeben wäre, und //

[18v]

Daby von anderen gemeldet, d. er ettwan in der win=// fuchte seltsam Stempruyen\* ußstieße, darumm er umm ein // halbe fronfesten gebüßt, und mir befolhen sölichs sinem // vogt Herren Seckelmeister Sprünglj zesagen; ob er und // die fründ mitt ernstlichem Capitlen inn denon bringen // und zu beßerung bewogen möchtind. //

Herr Doctor Geßner schickt mir ein Zedel inn die Censur, // in dem ersich ercklagt, Bigel wäre ii bußen versumpten\* // siner lection halb schuldig, das ich verantwortet mitt an=// zeigung das Bigel mich mitt antwort vernügt hette. // Deßglichen Rütters halb. Das ich ouch wol gwüßt und bis // inn Censur gespart, was gegen ime zehandlen,

zu vernemen // also warde abgeredt. Diewil man im nüt gebe, könnte // man imm nüt abnehmen. Ich aber erstlich inne selbs zu // mehrerem fließ vermanen, und so er darob nüt thäte // mitt sinem Vatter raden sölte, guter Hofnung. // Wievil sonst // ein flißiger guter Knab allweg gwäßen, er das best thun, // wo nit der vatter inn darzu halten wurde etc. //

So denne Herr Haller und H[err] Wick denen vf die Knaben // ufsähen zehaben, befolhen ouch H[err] Walther und ander an=// zeigend, was man sy vermannte ir röck anzelegen. // wäre alles vergäben. Ward erkennt und in offner Censur\* // vor allen Studenten und Schuleren anzeigt. Das fürohin alle Studenten und Schuler, so das \_\* Allmusen\* habend, ire röck\* // gar anlegen und erbars wandels, wie denen so zur kilchen // Dienst erzogen werdend zustat, sich fließen, [ ]und\*, welich // des über-sähind, von ieden zur lehr verordneten Herren, // der sy sicht geleidet, und um ein sächster [ge]büßt werden söllind, etc.

Es söltind ouch die so ab der frömde erst heimkommen\* aller // ordnungen und satzungen etc. sich zehalten ermannt werden. //

[Text (B),] 19 [r]

Montags 21. Aprellen

Als Leonhart Ernny uff das Diaconat gen Pfäffickon verordnet // fürohin vf das selbig mehr dann uff die Schul legen wurde, und aber // die Schuler in disem anfang alles lāsens vf das Examen sines // flißigen vfsähens und anhalltens notdurfftig, ward uff min anzeigen sölicher und anderer ursachen erwelt Wolfgang Buman, dem ich deß // selben tags alle Ordnung sampt der bußen dem überträttenden vfge- // legt, fürhielt, und inne in die Schul ordnet. //

Zinstags 22. Aprellen.

Als in obgeschribner Censur H[err] Lavatern, M[eister] Friesen, und mir, Wäbern // und Bruno wern sampt ir bedes Ellteren, wie obstadt, zesogen: habend // wie dry diß tags sölich unser befälch gegen inen und iren mutteren, // so mitt inen kommen, ußgricht in M[eister] Hans Friesen Hus nach der predge.

Desglich hab ich nach dem Jmbys M[eister] Hansen pfeninger ouch anzeigt das // sines sons nit sonders ein gut Ingenium habe, ungefließen sye, und // ansahe hald werde, zu dem zimlichs alters, deßhalb sich nit zu ver=// sähen des er zu der lehr geschickt sin werde, alles mitt mehr worten // daby was her gfatter sebastianus, denn solichs mitt mir ußzerichten // befolhen. //

Deßselben Tags ermant ich die der Schul erlassen, des sy ir fryheit nit // mißbruchen und diewil H[err] Steffen, Abel Werdmüller und ettlich schwachs // Ingenij soltend sy deßter flißiger sin. Auch sölte keller sich Zächens // und derglichen wäßens müßigen etc. wie das in der Censur befolhen. //



By obgedachter Censur warend beid Schulmeyster und provisores, // beid Collini vatter und son, Lavater, Wick, Choles, Funck, Haller, // Simler, Walther, M[eister] Heinr. Bullinger, Zwingli, etc. ich. //

[19 v]

Donstag 24. Aprellen. //

Beruft ich nach gethaner predge, in Crützgang, den Mülj, // Tobiam Buchman, und Abraham Schnider, so imm Examen // ouch der Censur nit erschinen, zeigt inen an was mir befohlen // diewil sy die Schul und lectiones bruchtind ouch Hoffnung // Het-tind mittler zit widerumm inn des Stipendium vfgenommen // zewerden, sölind sy die lectiones und predginen ouch Examina // besuchen, oder warten, weiß sy irer unghors-ams und unfließes // genießen wurdind. //

Vm die 12. nach dem Jmbis, uff der Stuben, bracht ich an der // Knaben halb so inn das Stipendium angenommen werden // begärtind. Also wurdend uff gethanem fürschat an=// genommen, Vß der oberen Schul. //

Heinrichus\* Steiner,

Heinrichus Bog

Samuel Hochholtzer

Vß der underen Schul ouch dry,

Johannes Rodolfus Büler

Matthias Bachofen

Rudolfus Haldenstein

Diawil demnach ettlicher anderer geschickter Knaben // so ouch fürderens würdig, und aber bym almusen so sy // der zit habend bas zu beston geachtet gedacht, ward ab=// geredt, das Herr Walther und ich für almußens pfläger // keren und inen mitt flißigem anzeigen irer gschicklichet\* // und fließens ettwas stuwer erwerben söltind, und sind // in der Zal dise dry. //

Jacob keretz, Joannes Fogler, Johannes Großman. //

Demnach ward Doctor Geßner befohlen Carpentarium // zeläßen, und in sin lec-tion wurdend bescheiden diese etc. //

Jsaia Wegger

Johannes Steiner

Josephus Britzen\_\* //

Jacobus Süler

Michael Heitz

Amandus Fischer //

Zacharias Schörlj.

Leonhardus Hofmeister //

Rodolphus Keller.

Samuel Fettlj. //

[ ] 20 [r]

Als ouch die Schulordnung vermag das under den Jüngen // Predicanten iärlich einem befolh, die Hebraisch Gramaticam // zeläßen, und H[err] Vlrich Zwinglj yetzdan vier

dann ein Jar sin // best gethan. Deßglich die Lectio novi Testamentj, so Dominus // Josias hievor versähen, ouch noch nitt angericht, ward ab=// geredt einhälliglich, das es fürohin, wie die Satzung ußwißt, under den Jungen oder Diaconis ummgne sölte, also das // yetzdan M[eister] Vlrich, so bishar hebraisch geläsen, in Novo Testamento // läsen, und an sin statt M[eister] Burcart Leman die Hebraisch Lection, // versähen, [zu] noch verschinem Jar M[eister] Burcart Novum testament // läßen, und ein anderer die hebraisch lection versähen, [söl] ouch // dise Lectiones under den gemelten Diaconis gentzlich [g] ummggen // söltind, damitt aber die Zuhörer nitt ettwan mitt un=//tongenlichen läßeren beschwärt und versumbt werdind, ist daby // beschloßen, das zu allen halben Jaren, umm das, ein frag gehalten, // und vor mangel funden der selb mitt änderung verbeßert werde.//

Daby warend M[eister] Heinrich, H[err] Haller, Collinus, D. Geßner, Wick, // Lavater, Walther und ich. //

[numbered] 21

Oßzug der Schulordnungen und satzungen // so diß verschinen Jahre, zum teyl ernüwert // und zum teil vfgericht sind, luth der acten. //

Als hiuvor langest angesähen, das weliche Stipendiaten on erlobnus ire lectiones // versumend, // ein batzen zu rechter Bus verfallen sin söllind: damitt man // sölichem unfliß nit zu lang zusähe, ist wyter erkennt, d. gedachte buß von // den überträtenden durch den pedellen also bar inzogen werde etc. acten // am 6. Höwmonats an<sup>o</sup> 1560. Mitt gonst Her Burgermeyster Müllers et.\* //

Weliche Provisores und Collaboratores, ons erlobung der Schulmeysteren, // und bestellen eines anderen an ir statt, ire Stunden in den Schulen ver=// sumbtind, die selben söllend, so dick des beschicht, j. ß zu buß verfallen sin, und inen die selbig by den amptlütthen, an ir besoldung inggehalten // werden. Es söllend ouch die Schulmeyster darauf ein flißig vfsähen haben // acten mitt bewilligung Herr Müllers, 6. Höwmon. an etc. 60. //

Alle Studennten und Schuler so das Almußen oder Stipendia habend, söllend // fürohin ire röck anlegen, und die überträtenden von ieden Herren geleidet, // und umm ein sächser gebüßt werden acten in der Censur an etc. 61 //

Die Diaconj und Jungen Predicanten, so in unser gnedigen Herren statt dienst // habend, söllend beide Hebraicam und Novi Testamentj lectiones, under // einanderen ummgahn läsen, also das welicher ein Jar Hebraies geläßen, // das nechst darauf volgend Jar in Testaminto Novo läse. und ein anderer // an sin statt die Hebraisch lection

versähe. Wie dann M[eister] Ulrich Zwinglj. // so bishar Hebraies geläsen, diß künftig  
iar in Novo Testamento, und an sin // statt M[eister] Burkart Leman Hebraies läßen,  
werdend. Doch sol zu // allen halben Jaren, sölichs irs läßens halb ein frag darumm  
gehallten werd., damitt die zuhörler nitt mitt unteugenlichen. läßeren beschwärt //  
werdind. Acten 24. April. an. etc. 61. //

## School Minutes, Compiled by Rudolf Gwalther (1561–1562)

See website <http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/scholim1559>: School Minutes, Text (B): (2)  
Rudolf Gwalther (1561–1562) (Transcription Emmanuela Chiapparini and ASG)

[numbered] 22

Acta der Schulherren //  
By verwaltung Rudolffen Walthers pfarrers //  
Zu Sant Peter. //

[numbered] 23 [r]

Anno domini 1561 uff den letsten Aprellens. Als mine Herren die verordne=// ten zur Lehr, aller profeßoren, Schulmeistern, Promisoren und Collabora=//toren Censur, und ires flyßes halben ernstliche nachfrag gehalten, hatt // H[err] Hanns Wolf gemelte Herren gebätten, daß diewyl er diß verschinnen iar // des Schulherren ampt versähen, sy inne nun mehr, innhalt der ordnung, de=// ßelben erlassen, und ann sinem dienst ein vermigen haben weltind, welches er mitt danck erlanget. Und hieruf ward Rüdolff Walther Zum Schulherren erwellet, und imme bevolhen, daß er ob den Schulordnungen mitt flyß und ernst halten sölte: Alles inn bysin M[eister] Hanns Brämen Statthalters, F. Anderes Schmid. Vannerherren, M[eister] Bernnharten Sprünglys Sekelmeisters und obgedachter herren Predicanten\*, und Läßeren. etc.

Deselben tags ward fürgebracht, das nitt ein geringer mangel in den // schulen wäre der provisorn halb, bis denen die Filialen zuversähen ange=// henkt wurdint, daruß dann volgete, daß sy sich eintwäders mehr uff // das predigen dann uff die schul zuversähen begäbind, oder auch beyde // dienst oder ämpter zugleich versumtind, deßhalb man sy deß predi=// gens erlassen, und allein in die schul wyßen sölte, damitt sy den spraa=// chen und künsten. obligen, und hernach zu höheren stennden möchtind gefürde=// ret werden etc. Nach dem aber darumm ein frag gehalten, und aller=// ley dazu geredt, ward endlich das mehr, daß es by dem altem bruch // und hierumm gemachter ordnung bliben, und die provister auch die // filialen, wie bißhar, versähen söltind etc. //

Mittwuchen der 7 Maij //

Hab ich die so nüwlich ab der frömde heim beschikt worden, namlich Heliam Heüw// ly, Wolfgang Buman und Joannem Wonlich, beschikt, und sy vermannet die // Lecti-  
ones und predginen zehören, und daß sy sich in der Kleidung der gemachten // ordnung  
und sazung gemäß und glichförmig haltind etc. //

[23v]

Zinstag den 13 May. //

Hab ich die nüwerwelten stipendiaten den Herren Pflägeren benamset, mitt // pitt,  
daß sy dießelbigen bestetigen weltind, welches dann ven innen beschä=// hen, und  
sind diß derselbigen Naamen, [Heinrich etc.] Uß der oberen schul. //

Heinrich Steiner.//

Heinrich Bog.//

Samuel Hocholzer. Uß der Underen schul //

Hans Rudolf Buler//

Mathis Bachofen//

Rudolf Haldenstein.//

Sampstag den 24 May.//

Herr M[eister] Heinrich Bullinger die Confeßionem fidei, so von den frömden. // Stu-  
denten fürohin sol erfordert werden, den verordneten Herren für=// tragen, die dann  
von innen angenommen werden, wie dießelbig vor=//nen im Albo by den burgerli-  
chen Satzungen so zeichnet ist. //

So denne hab ich fürbracht, wie die Knaben in den Lectionibus. für- // nemlich den  
Theologicis, unflyßig syend, und iro wenig ufschribend // vil aber mitt anderen bücher-  
en hiningangind, und diewyl in den // selbigen läßind. Daruf erkennt worden, daß man  
sy all ver-// sammeln und zur verbeßerung sölichs mangels vermannen, und // fürohin  
ernstlich darob halten sölle, daß sy in den Lectionibus, mitt // flyß ufzeichnind, damitt  
sy derßelben hernach mögind gefröntet // werden. Söliche Ermanning\* ist hernach  
den 28 Meyens in bysin der Verord=// neten Herren imm lectorio bestähen. //

Samstag den 31 May

Hab ich M[eister] Burkhardten Lehman berüfft, inne beuolhen, daß er Gramma=// ti-  
cam Hebream (wie den 24 Aprilis abgeredt worden) läßen söllt, wel=// ches er gut-  
willig angenommen, doch mitt früntlicher pitt, daß imme ver=// gundt werde vorhin  
zebaden, welches ich imme erlaubt hab.//

[numbered] 24

Den 30 May. //

Am Frytag vor begemelter\* tag, bracht M[eister] Heinrich Bullinger für, wie Tho=// bias Büchman uß armut genötet wurde, anderßwo einen stand zu suchen, da=// ruff er sich erhalten möchte, welte aber sölichs one unser wüßen und ver=// willigung nitt thun, begerte auch, daß wir imme sines thuns und laßens // kundschaftt gäbind, damit er nitt verdacht wurde, als ob er umm unerheli // eher sachen willen gevlaubt wäre. Daruf ward erkennt, daß // der Schulherr imme ein kundschaftt gäben sölte, in deren die ursach siner // entsetzung deß stipendiums gemeldet, und doch auch züget wurde, daß // wir von wegen sines vorigen flyßes wol lyden möchtind, wenn imme // jemants guts thete etc. Söliche Kundschaftt hab ich imme uff folgende // form geschriben. //

Universis et singulis literas hasce lectoris salutem. Cum Thobias Bibliander // ecclesiae nostrae alumnus, contra leges nobis ab ampli. Tigurinae reipub. senatu proscri=// ptas, aetate adhuc immatura et inconsultis nostrae scholae praefectis, vxorem anxißet, // et proinde stipendio suo mutetatus alibi conditionem vel ecclesiasticam vel scholasti:// cam quaerere rogeretur, qua se et vxorem honeste aleretur vitandae malae sus picionis ergo, vitae et mores testimonium sibi dari postularet. Nos scholarcha et ratori // Tigurinae Scholae praesides, hoc illi minime negandum esse arbitrati sumus. Nam // etsi iuuenili affectu abreptus in leges Scholasticas perrarit: numquam tamen ante illud // factum in illo vel diligentiam in bonarum literarum studys, vel probitatem et integritat=// tem in morib. et vitae conversatione desyderauimus. Quin non sine dolore, quam a=// lij subierunt mutetam, illi quos imponere coacti sumus, ne mali exempli causam // daremus, quo legum disciplina labefacteretur, sine qua nec scholae nec ecclesiae consi=// stere possunt. Qua // propter si qui interea illius eruditionem examine vel privato // vel publico tentare, et si dignum invenerint, ecclesiarum suarum aut scholarum gubernare=// culis ipsem adhibere velint, hoc illis per nos non modo licet, sed et anditu incun=// dißim\* erit, si illus diligentiam bonis viris placuisse, et ecclesiae vtilem esse intelle=// xerimus. Quod ut fiat, praecamur Deum patrem luminum, a quo omne dominum // bonum dari, apertus testatur. Valete. Datae et Scholarcha nostri Rodolphi Gual=// theri, sigillo obsignatae. Tiguri pridie Cal. Juny. Anno incarnati filij Dei, Jesu Christi. M.D.LXI.

[24v]

Zinstag den 24 Juny //

Als min Herren verstanden, daß Jacob. Urich, Cunrat Waßer und Hans Oßwald // Fäßy von wägen thürer Zuornug\* und großes uncostens sich zu Genf nitt enthalten // mögind, [ist] habend sy sich erkennt, daß sy angends gen Bern ziehen, und Jacoben\* Urichen, als dem der nun lang uß gesin erloubt werde entwäden daßelbst // zebliiben, oder heim zekommen, die anderen zwen aber zu Bern verharren söllind // biß man wyter zurhat werde, wohle man sy schicken welle. Sölichs[theils] // hab ich innen glich deßelben tags zugeschriben. //

Mittwuchen den 25 Juny. //

Erschein vor den verordneten Herren Felix Müller, und zeigt an, daß er von // wägen  
sines armut nitt bliben noch der begnadung von minen Herren er=// warten möchte,  
wurde deßhalben verursacht anderstwo einen stand zesuchen // und begärt, daß  
man imme sines wäsens und abscheidens kundschaft gä=// ben welte, damitt er nitt  
verdacht wurde, als ob er von unehren wägen// geurloubet wäre etc. Daruf min Her-  
ren erkennt, daß man imme söllt // zuwillen werden und aber in der kundschaftt. die  
artikel flyßig melden. umm welcher willen er geurloubet worden, damitt dieselbig  
nitt etwa uns zuverwißen stande. Hieruf ich imme diße öffentliche kundschaftt ge=//  
schriben, so gezund hernach volget. //

Zuwüßen sye aller mengklichem, daß uff hütt dato vor uns erschinnen // ist Felix Mül-  
ler, und uns fürtragen, daß imme nitt möglich sye dises thü=// ren Zit allhie zubeliben  
und uff miner Herren begnadigung, lut unse\_\* // schulsazungen, Zewarten, müße  
deßhalben anderßwo umm ein stand sä=// hen uff dem er sich und sin hußfrouwen  
erhalten möge, Damitt er aber // nitt verdacht werde, als ob er unehrlicher sachen  
halben von uns sye geur=// loubet worden, begäre er, daß wir imme sines Wäsens, und  
dazu auch sines // abscheidens kundschaftt gäben weltind, deren er sich wider falscho  
zureden // gebrochen möchte etc. Und diewyl uns dann sin begären nitt unerbar //  
noch unbillich bedunckt, habend wir imm folgende kundschaftt gärn volgen // laßen.  
Daß namlich genannter Felix Müller ein Zit lang von // unseren gnedigen Herren in  
der Kilchen besoldung erhalten und zu der // lehr erzogen worden, da wir imme von  
wägen sinen und siner frommen // Elteren wol hettind gonnen mögen, daß er sich mitt  
flyßigem studie=// ren und ingezognem Wandel dermaßen gehalten hette, daß wir  
inne // zu urlouben [kein anlaß noch erste] nit werind verursacht worden Diewyl //

[numbered] 24a

Uff M. Heinrich Bullinger, unnd syner mitherren für=// trag, von wägen Herr Hem-  
chen Schlegers gethanen fellers, // wie er wider syn ampt, und unnser Religion, zu  
Schwytz // den rydtschwur gethan, unnd sich über alle warnung // Inn dieselbig gfarr  
begäben. Habent myn Herren genannten // schleger, synes stipendiums, biß uff Jr grad,  
still gestelt, //

Sodenne betröffend, die schulordnungen, da sich bis gelerten // erclagen Wie wider  
die selben, Inn gmögren Herrschafftten // und ufferthalb, etlich mitt menrörchten und  
sonst gefür=// deret. Da sy als ungehorsam und untugenlich zu predigen // ufgestellt Da-  
ruß allerley ergernus und veraths, zu // zyten folgte. Laßend myn Herren, es gentzlich  
by den // gemachten Ordnungen blyben Vnd wollent uß erzelten Ursachen, mitt man-  
rörchten und sonst., den fürer // sorg und ufsehen haben, unnd deß Jngedänck syn,  
damitt den // vorgemachten, Ordnungen zuwider nüdt fügenommen // werde, actus

Mitwuch den. 13.te Augusti, Anno D. Lxi. presentes Herr Bürgermeister von Chaam,  
und beid Herren //

Stattschryber zu // Zürich set. //

[numbered] 25 [r]

er aber (wie ettwa Junger lüten bruch ist) Zum theil ungeflyßen, Zum theil // zerhafft-  
iger und ußschweyfer gsin, dann unsere Satzungen und ordnungen // ußwysend, und  
zu demme sich ouch es Zit one der verordneten. Schulherren // wüßen und willen  
vereelicht, habend wir inne anderen zu einem byspel, // nach vermög. und innhalt  
der satzungen, so uns von unseren gnadigen Her=// ren gäben sind, sines stipendiums  
und stands entsezen müßen, diewyl // er aber (wie abgemelt) nitt erwarten mag, biß  
er uff beharrliche beßerung // hin widerumm ufgenommen werde, können wir inne  
an sinem nutz und fro=// men nitt hinderen Und zügend [deshalben von uns] hier-  
mitt offentligchen, daß er by uns sampt // (so vil uns zewüßen) // nüt Eerenverletzlichs  
gehandlet, und sich nach dem er entsezt worden still // und ingezogen gehalten hatt  
Darinn so inn gemants siner lehr hal=// ben erforschen, und demnach zum dienst der  
Kilchen bruchen wil, mögend // wir sölichs inne wol gunnen, und bittend Gott, daß er  
sinen dienst durch // mittwürckung sines H[err] geists krefftig und fruchtbar machen  
wolle etc. // Actum [den 25 Brachmonns] und mitt unsers Schulherren [bütst] Rud.  
Walthers // bütsthier verwaret, den 25 Brachmonats imm 1561 Jar //

Predicanten und Profeßores der Kilchen //

und

schul zu Zürich. //

Sontag den 20 July //

Hielt man die Censur der Knaben und deß Zuchtmeisters im underen Collegio // und  
nach gehaltener Censur war fürtragen, daß in den Schulen großer mangel // wäre an  
den Collaboratoribus, so zum theil ungeschickt selbs nitt grundtlich ver=// stündint  
alles das, so sy den Knaben; söltind fürlassen, zum theil die kind mitt // streichen und  
unbescheidner rühe mißhandletind etc. Daruf erkennt ward, daß // mitt innen allen  
sölte ernstlich geredt, und hinfür nieman [zu] in die schul // verordnet werden, er  
wäre dann von dem Schulherren und den Profeßoribus // innsouderheit examiniert  
in den Linguis und guten authoribus, und zu // somlichem dienst gnugsam erfunden  
etc. //

Sampstag den 11 Octobris //

Ward erstlich fürgestellt Heinrich Ustery, so von Bernn was heimkommen, [hatt] und //  
als man uß H[err] Hannsen Hallers schriben verstanden, daß er zu Bernn lieder=//



[25v]

lich gsin, und vil unnüzes pracht gefürt, daby wol abzunehmen, daß er // sich selbs in schulden versteckt habe, ist es darumm erforderet, und hatt sich er=// funden, daß er hie und zu Bern um die 63 [lob] schuldig sye, deßhal=// ben min Herren verursacht worden, sinen Handel für die verordneten // Schulherren von minem gnedigen Herren zu wyßen. //

Demnach ward angezeigt, daß die ordnung geträffend der studierenden. // Kleidung schlächtlich gehalten wrude. Daruf erkennt worden, daß man // sy all uff morndrigen tag beschicken, und innen mitt ernst fürhalten // sölte, daß sy die Röck anlegen, und füröhin aller lichtfertigkeit maß// gen\* söltind, denn man sölichs nitt mehr von innen lich, und gägen den // ungehorsammen erstlich mitt der ufgesetzten buß, demnach aber (vorne sy // hallstarriger wys fürfürind) mitt größerem ernst handeln wurde etc. //

Wyter ward auch red gehalten von der schul, schulmeisteren, provisor // und Col-laboratoribus, daß sy die gemachten ordnungen vilfaltigklich // übertrettind mitt urlaub gäben und sunst mitt allerley unflyßes den // ruf gleicher gstat erkennt, daß sy sampt den studierenden. Knaben (wie // obgemelt) beschickt, und innen söliche mengel mitt allen ernst sö=// llind umbesagt werden. //

Letstlich bracht ich für, wie H[err] Hans Herter sinen bruder Jochim // nun mehr ein Jar lang zu Genf mitt merklichen Kosten erhalten // der aber von den profeßoribus daßelbst (innsonders von Herren Be=// raldo) gute Kundschaft hette, deßhalben gemelter Herter begärte, daß // man inne mitt einem stipendio welte behulffen sin, oder inne in künf // tigem an eines abgehenden. statt kommen laßen, hierüber min Herren // in erwägung aller sachen, obgenannten Jochim Herter angenommen // daß inne namlich Jerlich söllind 25 gd vom gestiftt ervolgen // und er hernach (wenn er in sinem vliß verharret) mitt beßerung // sines stipendiums, wie andere mehr, betrachtet werden. //

Sontag den 12 Octobers. //

Was im versamlung aller schulherren, darinnen erstlich Heinrich Uste=// ry verhört, und demnach erkennt ward, daß er solte in Lüsthurn ge=// legen, und daßelbst vom Allmussen mitt muß und brodt gespyst werden. //

[numbered] 26 [r]

Daß auch hiezwüschen H[err] Pannerher und H[err] Sekelmeister Sprüngly // zu inne gon, inne sin unmaaß fürhalten, und nach siner verhörung // den handel widerumm fürbringen söltind, zuberhatschlagen, wie man // inne daß stipendiums halben halten sölle, damitt er nitt anlaß ha=// be wyteren unkosten anzerichten, und biderb\* lüt mitler zit bezahlt // werdint. //

Es ward auch angezogen, daß die knaben vil unmaaß und hoffart in der // Kleidung tribind, nitt ans ergernus viler Errenlüten, daruf erkennet man // daß sy biß martini ire Kauffmansröck enderen, und andere, so irem stand // gemäß wärind, machen [so], und hiezwüschent die Ermel gar anziehen und // nitt wie bißhar söllind hangen laßen. Jtem daß man hinfür keinen sölte // annemen, dann mitt herterer anmutung, daß er sich den anderen lut der // ordnung glich kleiden sölte. Wyter, welche siden hosenbendly, oder sunst // syden, berßer, schamlet und anders derglichen antragind, denen sölle [sä] // daßelbig genommen, und dem Obman am Almußen Zugestellt werden. der // es verkauffen und das gält den armen gäben sölle. //

Wyter ward mitt den schulmeistern geredt, daß sy sich der schulordnung // styf halten, und überal keine Urlauben (under was schin zoch daßelbig // geschähen möchte) gäben söltind, dann s.\* wie die inn den Satzungen be=// griffen syend. //

Den 23 Octobris //

Ward erstlich Heinrichen Usterys halben abgeredt, daß man inne von sinem sti=// pendio allein 24 guld zu siner narung sölte volgen laßen, die überigen // 16 den schuldnern, einem yeden namlich nach siner anzahl söltind zugestellt // werden. Es sölte auch der Ustery einen wirt suchen, der inne umm ein ringes gelt // anneme, und denselben dem Schulherren zufüren, der inne wurde anzeigen // was es umm inn für ein gestalt, [hett] und, weiß er von imme zuerwarten hette etc. Wyter // sölte er sich mitt der Kleidung der ordnung gemäß haltten, und hienebent die // Lectiones Theologicas, deßglichen die physicam und Graecam flyßig besuchen:// Alles mitt dem anhang, daß wo er nitt gehorsamm were, wurde man imme // das stipendium eintwäders von stund an, oder nach dem die schulden bezahlt wärind, // abschlahen, der gehorsamme aber werde man inn genießen laßen. //

[26v]

Und als fürgebracht worden, wie die schülmeister umm der Röckholteren willen // Urlaub gäbind, und zu dem vil unordnung und unrhats entstan möchte, // so die knaben mitt wafen hinus lauffend, und zu Ziten one alle ordnung // anderen lüten ire güter und zum verwüßend etc. Ward erkennet, daß // sölichs fürohin überal nüt mehr beschähen, sonder man Jerlich die Röck // holteren uß den bußen kauffen sölte, so die studenten mitt überträttung der // satzungen verfallend. //

Zuletzt ward erkennet, daß ich sampt H[err] Ludwigen Lavater und H[err] // Rudolff Funcken\* die Collaboratores beyder schulen in bysin der schul; // meistern [b] uff künftigen sampstag beschicken, und mitt innen aller // irer menglen halb ernstlich sölte geredt werden. etc. Welches dann uff // yezgemälten tag beschähen. //

Sonntag den 30 Octobers //

Erschein vor den verordneten schulherren [ha] abermals Heinrich Ustery // und zeigt an, wie er sich mitt rhat siner fründen. in den Eestand begä=// ben welte, und begärt hierüber gemelter Herren verwilligung etc. daruf // imme geantwortet, daß man imme nitt dawider sin werde, Er sölle sich aber alles deß flyßig halten, daß man inne vorhin fürgeschriben, und // ward innsonderheit abermals gar ernstlich mitt imms geredt siner klei=// dung halben, daß wo er dießselbig nitt änderete, wurde man [im\_\*] mitt // ettwas fürnemmen, daß inne beschwärllich sin wurde etc. //

[Mittwochen den] Sontag den 23 Nouember //

Ward fürgebracht, wie in der underen schul vil bücher verloren wurdint, // vnd daß Melchior Rieder\* ein Testament, das er einem Knaben vorhin ver=// leügnen, hernach Johanßn witzen\* von Arouw geschenckt hette. Zudem daß\*// er von sinem Zächen nitt abstände, auch andere Knaben anfürte, vnd daß er // sampt anderen mehr zum Rindfuß ettliche mal gezerrt, darzu in sinem hus\* // ein gans uff einen sontag ggäßen, vnd daby die predig versumt hettind. // Daruf ward erkannt, daß ich sampt H[err] Rud Funcken und H[err] Sebastian // Guldibek der sach nachfragen [söllid], und es dann alles widerumm an // die verordneten Herren langen sölte.//

Zinstag den 24 Nouember //

Habend wir gezbenennten den Rieder verhört, und erstlich uß sinem mund ver-  
nommen, daß er uff dt.\* einen Sontag k. Wilhelmen Brennwalden mitt //

[numbered] 27 [r]

imme heimgeführt da sy zum Abendbrot in bysin eines schuknechts, deß Rieders zelu=// ren\*, einer laßen und irer tochter, gesotten fleisch und demnach ein Gans ggäßen, // habind. Demnach daß er der Rieder zum Rindfuß mitt Johannßen Wirzen // drü mal ggäßen, und es so verzerrt habe, die er dem wirt noch schuldig sye. [zude] // und daß by sölchen malen auch Hans Rud. Bygel gewäßen. Zum dritten, was // er auch bekannttlich, daß er deß Löuwen oder Eglis Wäbers Knaben im Testament das derselbig in der Schul liggen laßen behalten, imme hernach daßelbig verleugnet, // und vilgedachtem Johansen wirzen, von Arouw geschenckt hette, wie dann sölichs auch // sin eigne Handgeschrifft Züget, so darinnen was funden worden. //

Als man aber ouch Wilhelmen Brennwalden verhören wolt, gab er glich anfangs // uff den ersten anzug ein stolze fräche antwort. Man luge inn an, und wolt überal // von keinem Zächen nüt wüßen, noch vil minder ein Gans in deß Rieders hus gehol: // ffen haben äßen. Deßhalben man verursacht ward imme den Rieder under die augen // zestellen, da er als bald bekennen muß, daß es also ergangen, und er uff deßel: // big mal dry so verzeert hette.//

Mittwuchen den 26 Nouember //

Ward dises alles wider für die verordneten Herren gebracht, und daruf erkennt, daß // man den Rieder von wägen siner Jugend und siner Eeren mitt Ruten strafen, und // deß Custos ampt uff künfftige fronfasten mitt einem anderen sölte versähen [werd. // deß] und mitt sinem vatter geredt werden, daß er lügte, wie er inne eintwäders // in beßerer hut hielte, oder zu einem Handwerck thete, dann man sines studierens // halb nitt vil guter Hoffnung haben könnnte. Deßglichen, daß []\* auch // Wilhelm Brennwald von wägen siner stölze und unverschammten läugnens sölte // sin straf mitt der ruten empfahen. Dises ist glich deßelben tags in minen und H[err] Rud Funcken bysin volstreckt, und vilgedachter Brennwald uff sin wider: // bäffzen, so er uff empfangne straf thet, zum anderen mal gestrichen worden. //

Sontags den 27 Nouember //

Werdent fürgestelt N. Huster, Hans Stäffen, N. Wolffensperger, und ein yeder insonder= // heit gefragt, was sy verschinnes Zinstags in der Wysinen Hus an der schlegelgaßen // gethan hettind, daruf der Huser ettwas Zwyyfolhafftiger antwort gäben, Und Hans // Stäffen sich dazu stoltz und fräffen erzeiget. Aber Wolffensperger zeigt an, wie // daß dise beyd inne umm die Zwölffy tags wellen in der genemten Wyßinen hus füren // die meydtly zewürgen, da er innen nitt wellen völglen, damitt er nitt die lezgen // ver- sumte, [nachts aber] sy aber syend für Zogen und habind ir fürnemmen ußgericht, // und deß abents nach nachtäßen in sin hus kommen, inne mitt innen in gemolts // Hus geführt, da sy ein wyle gekartet, demnach ein schlafrunck gethan, der biß //

[27v]

gägen den eylften gewärret habe etc. Daruff erkennt worden, daß man den wolf // sperger ernstlich beschälten und vermannen sölle, daß er sich fürohin der gstat // nitt mehr laße anfüren, doch diewyl er die warheit fry bekennet, sölle er // by sölcher war- nung bliben: Huser aber und Hans Stäffen söllind in der un // deren Schul [( )] sampt dem Hans Rudolffen Bygel, der zum Rindfuß gezächet // mitt ruten wol erstrichen werden. Welches dann glich deßelben tags in bysin // H[err] Rudolffen Funcken be- schähen ist. //

Es ward auch angezeigt, daß deß nechstuerschinnen Sontags Wilhelm Brenn=// wald und Christoffel Keller uff dem graben ire mentel nitt angezogen, // sonder uff wider gemachte schulordnung mitt lampenden ermlen getragen // hettind. Doch als innen H[err] Hans Choler entgägen kommen, hette der Brenn// wald sine Ermel schnell hin- durch gestoßen. Aber Keller nitt nun\* // one scham fürzogen, sonder erst dazu den mantel uff Jünkerische // wyß über die achsel geschwungen. Umm welcher tratzlicher

Wachtrung w\_// len\* die Herren erkennt habend, daß man inne auch mitt ruten recht // wol erschwingen solle. Als man aber daßelbig wellen deßelben tag // volstrecken mitt den obgemelten dryen, ward es angestelltet, darumm die gedachten Keller im Haupt wund was worden. //

Den 9 December //

Ward von mir fürtragen wie N. Rosenstock minem Herren Burgermeister\* // Cham wäre umm tag nachgelauffen, ein stipendium zuerwärben, inne aber im // Herr Burgermeister nitt wellen fürlassen, er brechte dann Zügns\* von der // Schulherren, wie und welcher gstat er wäre geurlaubet worden. Daruf // mir und H[err] Wicken in bevolch gäben, daß wir minen Herren Burgermeyster // berichten Söltind, daß gemelter Rosenstock alle Zit unflyßig gewesen, und // nach vilfaltigem vermannen, als er sich gar nüt gebeßeret, sye deß stipen=// diums entsetzt worden. [Daruff er] und sine fründ genug semmlich gewarnet. // Sy söllind inne zu einem Handwerck thun, dann man inne überal nitt // mehr annehmen werde etc. Daruf er erst zugefaren und ein wyb gennempt // habe, welches dann für sich selbs strafwirdig sye, und daß man (wo \_\* // schon sunst flyßig und zur leer tugentlich wäre) in dryen Jaren, lut // ner\* Herren ordnung und sazung, kein frag umm inn haben sölte etc. Mitt v\* // dertheniger pitt, daß min Herr Burgermeister inne abwyßen, und die schul // ordnung schirmen welle etc. Daruf uns gemelter H[err] Burgermeister // geantwortet, daß er sich sölichs wol versähen habe, welle auch das // thun, diewyl er aber nun mehr abgon werde, söllind wir den Handel // Herren Burgermeistern Müllern auch anzeigen, dann one Zweifel daß Ro // senstocks fründ demselben gleicher gstat nachlauffen werdint. Sölichs ha\_\*. //

[numbered] 28 [r]

bend wir deß nechstuolgenden Sampstags ußgericht, und von H[err] Müllern glichen bescheid mitt // früntlicher verheißung, daß er die Schulsazungen welle handhaben, empfangen. //

Den 14 January imm 62 Jar //

Ward red gehalten, daß man Jacoben Urichen, so nüwlich von Bern heimkommen, beuel =// hen sölte, daß er die Lectiones publicas, und innsonnders die Theologicas, sampt den // predigen mitt allen vlyß besuchte, und sich in der Kleidung der ordnungen und sazun =// gen, so darüber ußgangen, in all wäg, gemäß hielte. Welches dann von mir gägen // imme ußgericht werden. //

Wyter als der Knaben, so uß der oberen schul am Allmußen erhalten werdent, zwen // abgangen namlich Heinrich Liechte und Jacob Wäber, Wurdent uff deß

schulmeisters // und proviſors zügnus hin minen g., herren fürgeschlagen Huldich Notz, Heinrich Bertschy, Heinrich stoub und Hanns Fry von Hagenbuch, uß disen wurden den / 17 Jenners von minen Herren erwellet Huldich Notz und Heinrich Bertschy. //

So deme diewyl min Herren verstanden, daß Albrecht künge son, Hanns, zur lehr ganz ungeschickt sye, und aber der vatter immerdar umm hilff und handreichung ummlauffe // damitt er inn by der schul erhalten möge, ist erkannt worden, daß man [d] imme deß // Knaben mängel, und daß [er] man inne der gestalt nitt annemmen noch fürderen // werde, anzeige, damitt er inn zu einem Handwerch verordnen, oder in ander wäg // versähen könne. Glicher gestalt ward erkennet zereden mitt Jacoben Göldlis und // Ludwigen Hugen Elteren, uff daß die Knaben deß minder versumt werdint // Sölichs ist hernach ußgericht worden. //

Den 22 Jenners //

Hatt mich Jacob Wider uß dem Turgöw uß beuelch M[eister] Heinrichen Bullingers umm // ein Zugnus seines Examens halb angesprochen, dem ich dieselbig uff diße form // gäben hab. Wir die verordneten Examinatores von // Predicanten und Läßeren allhie zu Zürich, bekennd mitt dißem brieff, daß der // Erbar bescheiden Jacob Wider allhie by uns ettlich zit gestudiert, dazu sich eines Er=// baren\* frommen wandels geflißen hatt, und letztlich uff sin begären hin uff S. Jo=// hannsen deß Teüffers tag imm verschinnen 61 Jar, in den spraachen, und // fürnemlich in der heiligen gschrift, zum Kilchendienst von uns Examiniert oder ver=// hört, und inn gemelte stuben dermaßen gefaßt erfunden worden, daß wir inne // zum Predigamt im Nammen Gottes zugelaßen, Guter zuversicht, er werde sinen // büßhar erzeugten flys der gestalt beharren, daß mengklich gestöüren möge, daß // wir unsers zulaßens gnugsamme ursachen gehept habind. Und diewyl er dißes // alles ein kundschaft von uns begärt, deren er sich zu siner notturfft zugebru=//

[28v]

chen wüßte, gäbend wir imme dieselbig in krafft diß brieffs, der gäben // und mitt unsers Schulherren Rudolffen Walthers [zu] hierunder getruckten // Bütschier verwaret ist den 22 Jenners imm 1567 Jar. //

Den 4 February //

Ward fürbracht wie daß Hans Rudolf Bigel, N. Trüb, N. Huser und N. Keller // begärtind an die frömdy zeziehen, deßglichen daß Hanns Rüter des Plattner // sinen son bißhar in sinem kosten erzogen, und diewyl es imme unmöglich für // sin wurde inn an der frömdy zeverlegen, begärte er daß er in das stipendium // angenommen wurde etc. Daruf erkennet man, daß man diße gemelte kna=// ben biß uff das künfftig Examen

ufziehen und nach dem sy imm selben er=// funden wurdint, mitt innen hanndlen sölte. Den Rüter aber sölte man an=//gends annehmen, und mitt der besten stipendien einem bedenken.//

Und diewyl dann in den Schulen der Urlaube halben immerdar vil unord=// nung inriße, und sonders Zwifels sy diß faßnacht abermals understond\* // wurdint innen selbs vrlaub zemachen, habend min Herren erkennt, dis // es\* by der ordnung genzlich bliben, und man mitt den Schulmeisteren red\* // sölle, daß sy die schul one klag versähind, und so sy uff iren zünfften die // Hüner äßen wellind, [] andere anstellind, die in der schul das best thugind\* // hieby warend auch H[err] Sekelmeister Sprüngly und J. Jacob Hab. //

Den 14 Merzens. //

Hatt H[err] Obman Stoltz den Bätteluogt sampt zwegen schuleren, dem Bölsterer v.\* // Immert zu mir geschickt, und mir durch sy laßen anzeigen, daß Stoffel // Keller sölle entwas trugs im innemmen deß brots und der zweyen schillingen // so inne fand sölle yede wochen zalt werden, gebrucht haben, also, daß inne // zu Ziten das brot und gelt zwey malen worden fgend, und als Bölsterly // lichts\* von inne anzeigt, tröuwe er inne ein lezy zegäben etc. Daruf ich den Bölsterly eigentlich gefragt, der daby styf beharret, und daß er sölichs mit\* // Jörgen Keller und deß Stoffels Hußfrouwen wüße darzebringen, da\* // auch wyter gemeldet, daß N. Großman von vilgemeltem Keller gezogen // sye darumm daß inne ettwas in sinem huß entragen oder verruckt werd\*. // Daruf ich gemelte Großman beschickt, der mi anzeigt daß vilged // \_ter Keller inne uff ein Zit ettwas wachstes und dazu dry büchlin byein deren ingezogen genommen, diewyl er ettliche tag by sinem schwager gebet // und als er ums darumm anzogen, habe ers inne alles verleügned, doch // so habe er diß sin buch sampt dem Wachs in daß St. Kellers kaßen funden\*. //

[numbered] 29 [r]

Der das ein büchly ußgeräümet und daßelbig zu anderen sinen bücheren binden // laßen. Zu deme so habe er uff ein Zit uß sinem kasten by Zwölff schillingen // verloren, und funden daß deß kastens ein hinden ufgelöst worden, doch könne er // nitt grundtlich anzeigen, wär dises gethan habe etc. Witer habe er hinder dem kel=// ler in einem triikly ein gekrümtes instrument funden, welches er nitt kennet, die // hußfrouw aber habe es für ein Dieterich gehalten. So habe auch die Hußfrouw zu // Ziten ettwas gälts verloren, sye deßhalben gesinnet, uß sinem hus zeziehen etc. Dises\* // hab ich glich deßelben tags minen Herren den geleerten fürbracht, welche sich // erkennt, daß man uff künfftigen montag den Keller bescheiden, und sin antworten // vff erzelte artikel hören sölle. //

Den 16 Marty //

Ward Stoffel Keller fürgestellt, und erstlich deß trugs am almußen halben // gefraget, da er anfangs aller dingen leügnen, und selzame ußreden suchet, letstlich aber was er kandtlich, daß er uff ein Zit ein ganze wuchen das brot // zwey mal genommen hette. Deß gälts halben wolt er nüt bekennen. Deßshal=// ben der Bölsterly imme under augen gestellet ward, der es imme alles fürhielt, // wie er zwey malen sölichs gesähen, Item wie er oft nachts wäre zu balhen\* in // gestigen, und wollen wins\* heimkommen, doch so beharret Keller deß wuchen // gelts halben uff sinem leügnen. So vil deß Großmans buch belanget // konnt er nitt leügnen, doch so wolt er anfangs nitt bestendig sin, daß // ers imme ze\* verhalten hette. Und inn dieser ganzen Handlung erzeugt er // sich anfangs so fräch und stoltz, letstlich aber so verworen und Zweyfel:// hafftig, daß man lichtlich sin schuld erkennen mocht. Deßhalben // mine Herren erkennt, daß man von wegen siner Erenfründen, ouch // siner Jugent, die sach vertrucken, doch imme das Muß abschlahen, und dazu // von der schul wyßen sölle, damitt er im Handwerch oder anders lärne, da=// mitt er sich zuernehmen wüße. Hieby warend M[eister] Heinrich Bullinger H[err] // L. Lavater, H[err] Hanns Jacob Wick, H[err] Josias Simler, H[err] Rudolff // Funck\*, M[eister] Huld. Zwingly, Samuel Pellican etc. //

Montag den 6 Aprellens //

Ward das Examen in der Oberen schul gehalten. Da sy in deß Schulmeisters Claße mehr=// teils wol bestudent, ußgenommen Hanns Heinrich Locher, N. Studer und Johannes Petri, // die man [den] von wegen ires unflyßes beschalt, und ward daby beuolhen, daß man //

[29v]

der Zweyen ersten Elteren und fründen ire mengel und gepräßen sölte anzeigen, damitt // sy zu handwerchen oder in ander wäg versorget, und nitt ettwan übel versummt // wurdint. Mitt Johannsen Petri mecht man noch wyter gedult haben, darumm daß // ein beßer Jngenium hatt, und dazu an liederliche innen nitt zunerglichen was. //

Darüber wurdent der schul erlaßen N. Steiner und N. Kerez, doch // mitt ernstlicher vermannung, daß sy in irem flyß söltind fürfaren, sonst werde\* // man sy eintwäders widerumm in die Schul sezen, oder auch öffentlich in der Schul // züchtigen laßen, dann sy der disciplin überal nitt söltind erlaßen sin. //

Deß Schulmeisters nachfrag ward biß in die allgemein Censura uf// geschoben.//

Morndrigs am Zinstag hielt man das Examen in der underen Schul, da sy in allen Claßibus wol bestudent, ußgenommen ettliche, deren nachfrag und straf biß uff //



die Censur ward ufgeschoben. Der Schul wurdent erlaßen Gaspar zur Linden, // Hanns Heinrich Wirt, Johannis Vogler, Johannis Großman, Melchior Rieder, // Josue Wekerling, Alexander von Fryberg, Gregorius Thomen etc. //

Mittwuchen den 9 Aprilis verhort man die Knaben im Lectorio, die in D. Peters // und H[errn] Simlers lection unglich und ettliche übel bestudent. D. Geßner war // von den Herren von Schafhußen erfordert, deßhalben sin lezgen nitt verhört worden. //

Am Donstag hielt man die Censur, in welcher erstlich Michel Heiz und Lien=// hart Hofmeister beschulten wurdent, daß sy im Examine übel bestanden warend // und zu mehrerem flys vermannet. //

Demnach fraget man Hanns Wilhelmen Brenwald ob er sich der Schulordnung // alenklich halten welte oder nitt, dann man siner ungehorsamme in Kleidung // im besuchen der Schulen und anderen stucken nitt wyter könnte noch welte zusä=// hen, darauf er antwortet Ja, und ward vermannet, daß er sich beßeren // sölte. //

Wilhem Hönnger was im Examine übel bestanden, und hatt dazu böse Zügnus // daß er ful und undienstbar wäre, deßhalben auch mitt imme ernstlich geredt // ward, daß er sich fürohin anders schicken sölte. //

Under denen so von Augustinern erhalten werdent wurdent zur Lehr untaugen=// lich funden. Erstlich Kebhart Bölsterly eins gmachen verstands, dazu lieder=// lich und lichtfertig mitt entlehnen und ansezen: Hans Rüdolf Studer unflyß // und ußschweyf: Cunrat Hubler, ungelehrig, aber from und gutartig, Cle=//

[numbered] 30 [r]

Wernly glicher gstat, doch ettwas unflyßiger, Experantius\* Nachpur, ein fröm=// der von Meerßpurg, einer bößen art und daß man sich zu sinem Volck überall und // imme nüt gute versähen könne: Morgenstern, ußfündig, liederlich und ungehorsam. // Und Rüdolff Tutwyler, so vorhin zweymalen von sines unflyßes wägen geurlau=// bet, und sich aber nie gebeßert hatt. Dißer aller halben ward geraten, daß // H[err] Hanns Jacob Wick und ich, ire mengel, und daß sy uns zur [H] Lehr un=// geschik sin beduncktind, dem Herren Obman söltind anzeigen, damitt sy // geurlaubet, oder zu Handwerchen verordnet wurdint. //

Wyter wurden Großman, Kerez, Vogler und Rieder ires flyßes halben ge=// rümt, und bevolhen, daß man die pflägers am Almusen bittlich ansuhen // sölte, daß sy innen mitt einer stür weltind behulffen sin, damitt sy die // bücher, deren sy nodturfftig wärint, kauffen möchtind. etc. //

[30v empty]  
[numbered] 31 [r]

Ußzug der Schulordnungen, so diß Jar zum theil // ernüweret, zum theil ufgericht sind etc. //

Als under den frömden studenten sich ettlich mitt selzamen irrigen meinungen, und zum // theil mitt Käzerischen yrthummen, dem Serneto\* und Orrio\* gleichförmig, merken laßen, ist // ein Confessio fidei gestellet, die man fürohin den frömden fürhalten, und [die so] mitt // denen, so derßelbig nitt annehmen, oder darwider dispendieren wellend, nach gelä=// genheit und irem verdienen handeln sölle etc. 24 May. //

Item daß die Stipendiaten in den Lectionibus, fürnamlich den Theologicis mitt flyß // uflößn und schriben söllind. 24 May //

Item, daß fürohin kein Collaborator sölle in den Schulen angenommen werden, er sye dann zavor von den Schulherren und den Profeßoribus in den Spraachen (die er zel-eeren // hatt) und in guten Authoribus gruntlich examiniert, und zu sölichem dienst gnug=// samlich erfunden. 20 July. //

Item daß sich die Studenten in der Kleidung der gemachten ordnung flyßen und halten // söllind, und daß mitt denen, so sich ab gesezter buß nitt beßerend, mitt größerem // ernst sölle handeln. 11 October. Hernach ward von minen Herren wyter geord=//net, daß alle die Kauffmansröck oder mentel hettind, dieselben angends ändern // und sich irem stand gemäß kleiden söltind. Wyter daß denen die syden, berßet, scham=//lot\* und anders derglichen trugind, daßelbig sölte genommen, und in das Almußen // gegäben werden. 12. October //

Item daß die Schulmeister überall kein urlaub gäben söllind, ußert denen, so in der Schulordnung begriffen sind. 12. October. Item von der Faßnacht den 4. February. //

Item daß die Schulmeister fürohin die Knaben nitt mehr in die Röchholteren schicken, // sonder man dießelben uß den bußen, so jerlich gefallend, kauffe sölle. 23. October //

## School Minutes, Compiled by Ludwig Lavater (1562–1563)

See website <http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/scholim1559>: School Minutes, Text (B): (3)  
Ludwig Lavater (1562–1563) (Transcription Emmanuela Chiapparini and ASG)

[31v]

Acta der Schulherren bj verwaltung // Ludwigen lafaters anno 1562. //

An mittwoch nach pfingsten hiessen min Herren die geleert // den grüter, Keller, Huser hinab gen martpurg züchen. // Den trüb, bigel, weker, gen Basel. Den schörlj und, wilhelm Wäber, rikenman die zu basel ein zitlang gsin // warend gen heidelberg. Soltend bald schriben wie // sy zukomen, und gute Zügnuß oder testimonia von iren // praeceptoribus wo sy abschiedent bringen. //

Der Caspar Bodlj. ward von Basel uff bitt siner Muter // berüft. //

Wilhelme Brawald ward uff bitt sines vatters H[err] J. // nachgelassen das er gen Bären züchen sollte, und 25 g. // zum stipendio haben. Und so er sich do wol hielte so\* // man in gen Genf schiken und im daß stipendium beß // ren. //

Herren Hans müllers (den man nempt schalmyend) son // der zu Genf gstudiert, solt nütt angenommen sunder // abgewisen werden. Dann anzeigt ward wie er irr // ge meinungen defendierte. Und zu Genf toub ge=//worden, das zubesorgen er wurde nütt taugenlich // zur leer sin. Und solte man somlichs beeden Herren bur // germeister anzeigen welch von H[err] Bullinger und eine ußgricht \_\*./

Herr Hanß Hertzen Brüder der im welschland stu // diert solte man die 40 gl. geben [zum] und // allso sin stipendium besseren. //

Auch solt man den knaben die das muß habert // anzeigen das sy nütt vischetind, oder man welte // sy urloben. Daby warend H[err] Bullinger, walther // D. gessner, zwinglj, simler, Collinus, Haller, Frieß lafater

[numbered] 32 [r]

Am 25 tag meyens anno 62 zugend dise Studiosi hinweg. //

felix trüb //	}	gen Basel //
hans radolf bigel		
Jsaias wegger //		
christof rüter //	}	gen Martpurg //
radolf keller //		
Hans Huser		
Zacharias schorli //	}	gen Heidelberg //
Wilhelm wäber		
rikenman von Basel //		

Am 23 tag meyens wurdent an weggers und schorlis // stat zum Frawenmünster vol-  
gende kanben fürschlagen //

Wolfsperger//

Hans grossman von Höngg. //

Jacob Kerez. \_\_ward es.\_\_//

Jacob frank. //

Stephanus Aberlj \_\_\_\_\_ward es. \_\_//

Jacob pfrunder von Küssnacht. //

Hans Davit nusperli H[err] Cyrillen son von Russicon. //

Hans Heinrich hegener alten schaffners von Embrach son. //

Vff den 11 augusti ward husherren halben abgradt // das diewil er zu Basel in bulschafft  
komen, solte er hir // zu Zürich bliben und nüt witeres hingeschickt werden. //

Des H[err] Hans müllers sons Hans peters halben der abermals begerte // des ex-  
aminis ward geandwortet maa liesse es bj vorgeb // ner urteil bliben examinierte in  
nütt dann 1. so hette // er ein blöd haupt, were zu genff unsinnig worden 2 schirmp //  
leze meinungen. 3. hette selbs bkent das er kein lust // zum studio hette. //

H[err] Jsrael stehelis\* halb ward abgredt das er solle in der 3. lezgen // in beeden  
schulen den knaben fürschriben. Daby wared // H[err] M. Simler, wick, wolf, walther,  
haller, lafater. //

[32v]

Vff den 12 tag novembris im 62 Jar starb der Hochge // lobet D. petrus martyr Vermilius.  
Darnach kamme // min Herren die glernten Zesamen um einem succeßore // zerad-  
schlagen und den selben radschlag den herren von Rath // zur Schulgeordnete an-  
zuzgeige. Und gefiel inen ob // der frömde zbnampsen d. Lyperinn\* d. zanchu\*. Doch

// etliche beschiedt\* oder vnkumlikerter darby anzuzeigen // und uß den unseren ludwig lafater zu benampsen. //

Allso kament den 14 decembris min Heren zesam // beed H[err] burgermeister\*, panerhere schmid, Sekelmeister und // radschlagten sampt den gelerten wie man den städ // vorsechen möchte. Ludwig lafater zeigt diese ursochen // an um dem willen er min Herren underthenig bete in bj dem predige latzen Zeblibent. Namlich das er // der Hebraischen sprach nütt so wol bericht, das er // die ander lüt zleeren understan dörrfte. Demnach so hette er nütt ein gute gedechnuß, die aber [in] latin zelesen // mee\* dan tütsch zpredigen einem notwendig were. // So hette er sich allein uff predigte (in welchem er sich // auch schlecht sin wol befunde) begeben und uff das // läßen nie man hette auch in nie sich daruff gheis // sen rüste, sunder andere die ouch darvon in bsoldung // ghopt\*. zu dem so wurde es mitt im kein ansechen\* // haben, bedorffe an die end eines wolgeleerten der spra // chen und künste erfarnen mans. Und ein somlichen // mochte man wol an der frömde finden. //

Ward allso gradschlaget das man bruffen solle H[err] Zanchi dann der selb in ungunst were (und // sonst nütt läse) [wo] von des sacrament spans willen // were gleerrt in theologia philosophia were d. petri successor // auch zu straßburg gsin, hette keine kind, möchte // mittlere zit der kylchen der luggarnern ouch vor // stan etc. ward abgered. H[err]Bullinger solte erkomien // ob [h] er ein willen hiehar hette, so höffte min // Herren die sach möchte wol erlupft werden etc. //

[numbered] 33 [r]

1563 3 aprilis kam der wurt zum Schwert uff die stuben // von sin sons Abraams wegen begert das man in anems\* und das // best dete. Sachen min Herren andere welte gern in anemb.\* // were aber iez nütt so vil verhanden: so bald sy baß bj // gelt wurde man im zwillen werden. Aber diewil wie // nütt wüssen machten was er könnte solte er im nechsten examin\* // respondieren, oder fürhin sich examinieren lassen, solte hoch // simlerum. Ammanum. Gessnerum, Collinum hette er ein gute // Kundschaft von selben wurde er deßelben gnießen. //

Alls man nach osteren das examen gehalten wurdent // in der oberste claße unflyßig funden und bschulte //

Rodolf Studer//

Hans Heinrich locher Jacob Kneul solt uff Jar publice. // werden wenn er sich wol hielt //

Stephan oberli //

Adam Weker //

Schellenberg aber und Joa petri sölte gmonier\* werden wo // ein plaz ledig wurde. //

Uß der claße provisoris promoviert\* man felix wissen // nütt von blodikeit des Haupts wegen. //

Und solte man indenck sin ward abgerett deren. //

rudolf gwerb. //

Huldrich noz. //

Jodocus nagel. //

nicklaus Wüst //

Ex 3 classe so Collinus iezt versecht. //

Sollent die eltern folgend knaben gwarnt werden. //

Hans schwarz //

Hans kung //

rodolf Hoffman. //

[33v]

Uß der oberste claße in der underen schul. //

Ist in der censur mitt dumpert gredt das er // nütt schlaglig sye. Flyßiger gmaneti rod dutwiler. georg boßhart\*. //

Ex claße provisoris bedorffe d. hillff so für // ander flyßig geachtet sind. //

Marcus nözli //

Joachim Müller //

David zindel. //

## School Minutes, Compiled by Wolfgang Haller (1563–1564)

See website <http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/scholim1559>: School Minutes, Text (B): (4)  
Wolfgang Haller (1563–1564) (Transcription ASG)

[34r: empty]

[34v]

Acta der Schulherren // bij verwaltung Wolf // gangen hallers Gstipft // verwalthers.  
// Uff das 1563.Jar.

[numbered] 35 [r]

Anno Domini 1563. uff den 25 Aprilis, nach // gehaltner gmeiner Järlicher Censur aller  
Professo // ren, Läseren, Schulmeistern, provisorn und Collabo // ratorn, ward her  
Ludwig Lafater von siner pitt // wägen dess schulherren Ampts erlaßen, und Vuolf  
// gangus haller Gstipftsverwalter zu einem schulher // ren geordnet, In bij sijn hern  
Burgermeisters von // Cham und anderer verordneten. //

Uff den selbigen tag wrad fürgebracht wie das Inn // von schulen noch etwas mangels  
Inn den höheren // Clascibus were der Griechischen und Latinischen Gram // matic  
halben, alda wol kümlichere für die selbigen Claßes wie ouch hievor die Elementa für  
die // minderen Clascen, möchtind gemacht werden, und ward bevholen hern Sebas-  
tiano Guldibecks Schulmei // ster zum frowenmünster, als einem für es herli // chen  
Grammatico, das er das best thun, und us // den besten Grammaticis söliche zesamen  
ziihen welte, // damit die oberen Claßes ouch wol versähen // würdint. //

Demnach, diewijl die zal der Stipendiaten am // Gstipft so groß were, das man allen  
denen knaben so // flijßig studiertind und der hilff wol bedörffind, nit // allen das-  
elbst gehälffen möchte, und besonders das // grad diser zijt etliche knaben so bishar  
das almusen gehaben, so wol gstudiert, das sij uff das nechst // verschinen Examen in  
publicas lectiones gefürderet // werind, derhalben wol wärt und sij ouch dess not //  
turpftig werind sij wijter und bas zu bedenken, und // nun mee so alt das man sij bald

hinwäg an die // frömbde schicken möchte, ward nach gehaltne[m] radt // schlag her  
Burgermeister von Cham gebätten sölich[s] // an ein Eersammen radt zebringen, ein  
gnädig bedän // ken, damit den selbigen bas möchte gehupfen wer // den, darüber  
zehaben. //

[35v]

Zum dritten ward ouch anbracht, wie der menen // wil unserer Studenten so an die  
frömbde geschicken // würdint, große gältschulden machtind, und das es // allen-  
thalben so thüwer das sij mit Irem Stipendio // der 40 Gl nit wol gelangen möchtind,  
ob den // selbigen die hand bas möchte gebotten und Inen // die stipendia gemeeret  
werden, Darüber erkent, // diewijl unsere gnädigen herren dise stipendia al // so ge-  
ordnet hettind, und dabij bliben würdint, und daneben wol verstanden würde, das der  
merenwil durch lestliche kleidung und Zerrung wijter dann dies vermögens were, zu  
söliche schul // den kommind, sölte man fürhin allen denen so // man an die frömbde  
schicken würde ernstlich befä // len sich darnach zestrecken, ouch denen so ietz  
dußen // werind, zuschriben, dann Inen fürers nüt ge // volgen würde. So serr aber  
etliche dußen // mit krankheiten angegriffen, oder sonst vum eerlicher // sachen wil-  
len zu wijterem costen komind, oder sonst // von der frömbde so Eerliche testimonia  
heim bringen // wurdint, das man achten möge billich sijn sij zu vereeren, das dann  
den selbigen nach gfallen // der verordneten alwäg ein zimlich[s] sölle eine // stringe  
werden und gevohten. //

[numbered] 36 [r]

Michael Hortinus Lausa // nensis //  
so inn die nün monat hie gstudiert, begärt den 3 // Maij ein kuntschaft diewijl er gesin-  
net heim zeziihen // und bij den herren von bern um ein ordinarium sti // pendium  
zewerben, die ward im erkent und uff vol // gtende form gegäben.

Discessurus a nobis Michael Hortinus Lausa // nensis, publicum suorum studiorum  
vita[et] apud nos // acta testimonium sibi dari petijt, quod ut illi negare // non potui-  
mus, ita praesentibus pisce testamur, illum al // to tempore quo ad nostram scholam  
uenit atque apud nos vixit, magna in suis studijs versatum esse diligen // tia, eaque  
apud nos, quantum nos scire possumus, morum // integritate vixisse, ut nihil unque in  
illo repraehende // re potuerimus. Quo nomine illum iam sine abeuntem, alijs quoque  
bonis viris studiose commendamus, illosque // rogamus, ut illius honestos conatus, et  
studia innare, illumque ut pium ac honestum adolescentem sibi com // mendatum  
habere velint. Tiguri. 3 Maij. Anno // Domini 1563.



Uilhelmus Stuki //

so hievor uff Luciae in. 62 ouch inn das höchsten // stipendium der 40 Gl am Gstiftt  
angenommen was, zog hinwäg uß bevelch der verordneten zur leer // am 1 Maij im 68.  
gen tübingen. //

1. Maij zog ouch hinweg Dn. Vuilhelmus Cantor Gallus //
3. Maij Michael Hortinus Lausanensis //
5. Maij. Dominus Christophorus Tretijs Polonus // Stanislaus et Andreas Cikowski  
Poloni fra // tres, conuictores Domini Bullingeri, nobiles // Laurentius Zemlinus  
duorum horum nobilium // adolescentum paedagogus. //

[36v]

Den 9 Maij im 63.

ward fürgestellt petronius Grebel so domals collabo // rator was inn der oberen schul,  
und im gar ernst // lich fürgehalten, wie er mit der schul gar unflüßig // und sich etlicher  
uchenpredginen underzüge denen // er sich nut zu beladen habe, darzu von worten  
wieg // sam, ouch sich bij frömbden lüten inn den wirtz // hüseren zu vel zuachlugte,  
und etwas vurades // zu uster im wirtzhus angericht hette, mit ernstlicher // verman-  
nung davon abzestan, oder Im das stipen // dium genommen und er genzlichen geur-  
lobet sölte // werden. //

Iohannis Steffani halb ward fürbracht, wie // er arm, doch fromm und flüßig, und  
imm sijn mei // ster bij dem er zu herberg victor hensler um ein rock // geholpfen, den  
er nit vermöchte, zubezalen, desse // erkent den obman anzesprächen uß Bruggers  
gutt // ein stur zethun, und das uberig uß dem Studen // ten ampt zegäben, wie ouch  
beschehen. //

Andreas Rosenstolz begärt upf den tag durch // her Ludwigen Lafatern alten Schulher-  
ren, das er // widerum inn das stipendium angenommen würde, // von wägen das er  
uast arm und inn kind anfe // lind. Diewijl er aber vorhin als untugentlich // zu der  
leer abgestellt, und erst, darüber gewijbet, // und sich selb eigens gewalts publicum  
gemachet, ward // er kent das er in lingua Latina und graeca, ouch // in Dialect. und  
Rhetoricis sölte examiniert und verhört werden, und wie er alda funden, demnach //  
die sach wider an die verordneten langen sölte. //

Diewijl ouc zwen ordinarij der oberen schul // an dem almusen abgangen, Jacobus  
Kerez und Johannes Vuidmer, wurdent uß den Extraordinarijs // der selbigen schul an  
ire statt genommen Iohannes // Hüßer und Ambrosius Kouff, und upp den 14 // Maij  
bestöwet, und von dem Obman Ingeschriben. //

[numbered] 37 [r]

Stipendium der Hebrai // schen Lectur. 263. //

Als dann vor Jaren angesähen die Lectur der He // braischen sprach, die knaben darinn anzufuren, und // in Grammaticis wol zu berichten, und darum dem // Meister Burckharten Leman und einem Jeden nach // zu geordnet an diser lectur glich stipendium der // 40 Gl geordnet wie dem Lectori Noui Testamenti, // und Im aber uß mangel gälts allein für das ver // schinen Jar 20 Gl worden, sind Im die uberigen // 20 uff den tag noch darzu erkent, uff der herren // Stiftpflägere bestätigung hin (die es ouch darnach uff den 17 Maij also bestätigt) Doch mit dem heiteren beding, das gedachte 40 Gl fürhin Je // dem werden söllind so dise Lectur versähen wer // de, und diss stipendium sonst keinem anderen stand // sölle zugethan werden. // hiebij warend, Dn. Bull. Gualth. Vuolf. Lafaterus // Vuikius. Zuinglius. //

Den 14. Maij. // Maximilianus und Leo //

Die seenian gebrüder, bed siin dess pfarrers von // Ermatingen im Turgöw, deren der elter diser Zist // pfarrer was zu kleinen fiechlingen nit wijt von Spijt // gelägen, der ander, Leo, predicant zu Münsterlin // gen im Turgöw, begärtend bed kuntschaft ires lä // bens diewijl sij alhie gsin, die selbig ward Inen // erkent uff folgende wijs zegäben. Und ob glich wol jeder sine besonder nam, warends doch be // de diser glijchen Jnnhalts. //

Uniuersis et singulis hasce Lecturis. salutem // in Domino. Ante aliquot annos e schola nostra // digressi Maximilianus et Leo Semanni, fratres, // Durganienses, iam tandem ad nos reuersi, stu // diorum suorum vitaeque prius apud nos acta, te // stimonium sibi publicum, quod ante discedentes //

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accipere neglexissent, modo petierunt. Auditis // ergo multorum doctorum et bonorum virorum, in // primis uero eorum qui praeceptores illorum fuerant, studiorumque et vitae anteaetae memores erant, testi // monijs, nos scholarcha caeterique Tigurinae Scholae // praesides, verum illis testimonium nullo modo ne // gare potuimus. Itaque praesentibus hisce testamur, // ipsos, quod in Tiguri commorati sunt, magna in suis // studijs uersatos esse diligentia, eaue apud nos, // quantum now scire possumus, morum integritate // vexisse, ut in illis nihil unque repraehendere potue // rimus. Quam eorum diligentiam ac virtutem ita nos complectimur, ut illam hisce quoque literis, om // nibus bonis viris commendatam cupiamus. Valete. // Datae, et Scholarchae nostri Vuolphgangi Halle // ri sigillo obsignatae. Tiguri. 14 Maij, Anno Domini 1563. //

Studiosi fürgstelt //

Upf disen tag wurdent fürgstelt Vuilhelmus Wäber und Vuolfgangus Rikenman, so von hei // delberg, und Johannes Osualdus fäsi und Conradus // Waser, so von Bern heim berupft warend, und nach dem sij verhört, wo, bij wem sij gsin, was // sij ghört für Lectiones, was sij für kuntschafften // und fürschripft habind, ouch was sij an der frömb // de und sonst schuldig bliben, hat man inen mit ernst bevholen. 1. die predigen flüßig zubsu // chen. 2. die Lectiones, Theologicas Noui und Veteris Test. vorab, demnach ouch andere flüßig // zehören. 3 allen ordnungen der schul mit // heimischer gebürlicher bekleidung und dem wan // del zugeläben. 4. ire schulden trüwlich zubezalen. 5. und sich angends upf ein gmein Exa // men in linguis, artibus unn Theologia rüsten. //

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Den 16 Maij. Im 1563. //

Wie beide Lectiones Theoligice // von nüwem versähen. //

Als dann upf den 12 Nouemb. Im 1562 Jar abge // storben was der fürwäffenlich hochgelert her Doctor Pe // trus Martyr unser schul der ein Theologus, ward angends // darauf geratschlaget wie sijn stand kumlich widerum // möchts versähen werden, alda upf gfallen der herren // schulherren von den rädten, der willen hier D. Hiero // nymi Zanchi Theologi zu straßburg erkundiget, und // etwas zijts die sach widerum angestellt, der hofnung das // man Inn gehaben möchte, und aber er um ostren // diss 63 Jars selb har kam, und von Im xestanden // ward das er etwas zugsteit der Italischen Kilchen // zu Genpf, hieneben ouch vernommen ward wie er der // augspurgischen Confeßion und der selbigen Apologiae // unterschriben, ward upf den 16 Maij dises // Jars widerum geratschlagen, wie der stand möchte // versähen, und herren Simlero die ein lätzgen wi // derum abgenommen wurde, die er dann von har doc // tor petri säligten wegen guts willens upf sich ge // nommen hette damit siner gelaßnen witwen und töch // terli alle sines Conicats nutzung bis Johannis das // Jar us gevolgen möchte, derhalben upf gfallen // und bstätigung, erstlich der verordneten schulherren von den rädten, demnach eines ganzen Eersammen // radts, abgeradten. //

1. Das her Josias Simler an den stand und pfrund herren Martyris säligen Im 1563 upf Johan // nis sölle angan, unn sijn successor sijn. //
2. Das her hans wolf pfarrer zu dem frowen münster, als der es tröpfenlich wol versähen köme // und möchte, und der ouch sonst lut sijner er // wellung Im 1551 Jar beschehen ouch schuldig were // diser kilchen mit predgen oder läsen pflichtig und // verbunden zesijn, sölte geordnet werden die // ander wuchen alweg nebet herren Simlero ze // läsen, doch mit denen gedingen, das er // bij sinder pfarr bliben und hiemit von der selbigen //

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niemer sölte gezwungen werden, das er sijn son tag // predig inn der pfarr behalten und die selber thun // sölte. vund damit es im dester n+glicher, er allein // die vier tag in siner wuchen läsen, den Montag, zin // stag, mitwoch und donstag, den sampstag aber im // her simler abnehmen sölte. Das im das Chor // gricht zuversähen und die predig am donstag im // münster zethun abgenommen und In ander wäg ver // sähen sölte werden, und diewijl Imme hie // mit mee arbeit ufgeladen, das Imm ouch darum // Eerlich sölle gelastet werden. Hiemit aber sölle // er unverbunden sijn und widerum darvon stan // nügen wenn es imm gesellig zu welichen ziten. // und sölle dieses alles wären bis das von den // unseren etliche darzu gebrucht, oder man sich // sonst mit der Zijt mit einem fürwäffenlich man // versähen möge. //

Dises ward glich des selbigen tags den abent // den schulherren von den rädten fürgetragen, und darnach den 18 Maij von einem Eersammen radt // allenblichen bestätigtet. //

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Den 16 Maij //

Uff pittlich ansuchen Thobiae Fortunati eines frommen // armen predicanten sun zu Gramberg in heßen, um // etwas underhaltung, das er alhie bij dieser kilchen // und schul studieren möchte, habend unser gnädig // herren Burgermeister und die rädt, in ansähen das // er nun hievor sonst zimlich wol gstudiert, und // mit der zijt vil gnug anderschwo schaffen möchte, Ime // von dem gemeinen almusen mus und brot und // der wuchen ij st ouch zegäben erkent. //

Den 26. Maij. //

Als Andreas Rosenstock hie vor den 9 Maij // begärt hatt widerum Inn das stipendium ange // nommen werden, und aber damals erkent das er // zavor sölte examiniert werden in linguis und arti // bus nach zimlichen maaß, von Dn. Ammiano, Colli // no, Frisio, Lafatero, Vuikio und mir, beschach // es upf disen tag, alda er dermaßen funden, das // im wijters vertruwet ward. // Derhalben als // diser upf den 5. Juij wider fürgebracht, ward // im das Stipendium der 25 Gl wider erlaupt // diewijl nun mee die drü Jaar sines abstellens // umhin warend, doch upf gfallen hin der her // ren Gstiftspflägeren, weliche ouch sölichs bestäti // gen habend. //

So begärt ouch Meister hand fries schul // meister der oberen schul, diewijl Im Inn der gemeinen Censura dess vorigen 62 Jars // erlaupt worden were das er die stund um // die drü bis zu vieren einen geschickten Studio // sum möchte Inn der Schul

sijn lätzgen ver // sähen laßen, darum er sich ouch embotten dem // selbigen in sinem eignen Costen Zelonen, und // er Iacobum Huldrichum angestellt, nun aber //

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nach vercchinung dess Jars er sinen son Mei // ster hansen den Jungen von Marpurgh heimbe // rupfe hette, der im nun mee sölichs wol ab // nemmen und on Costen versähen möchte, das man das selbig also gütlich welte beschähen // laßen. Diewijl man aber im Kra // mine funden, das Iacobus Huldrichus, die // knaben gar wol und mit sonderem flijß das // verschinen Jaar gelert und vil guts bij Inen geschapfet, ouch noch diser Zijt in Tertio libro // officiorum Ciceronis was, das er inen noch nit gar usgeläsen, ouch M.Y. Frisius noch nitt // geexaminirt, wie aber den 20 Julij Im 1561 Jar under her rudolfen Walthers schul // verwaltung geordnet, das kein Collaborator // inn der schul sölte gebrucht werden, der nit dess minsten zavor in Linguis und curibus examinirt were, derhalben erkennt. t. // das M. hans fries für das verschinen Jar sinen vorigen embieten nach Jacobo Huldricho // lonen unn sin arbeit eerlich bedencken sölte. 2. das Iacobus diser zijt fürfaren sölte und Tertium officiorum librum gar usläsen, damit es den knaben dester nuzlicher were. 3. das meister hans fries, so ferr er sinen sun hernach begäre inn die schul zebruchen, eintweders gar, ouch inn Theologia, oder // so Im das noch zu schwär, alein in artibus // examinieren laße, und nach dem er da // selbst funden, sölle dem selbigen nach aber // wijter nach gebür gehandelt werden. 4. welle er Inn dann nt examinieren laßen, // und er Iacobum Huldrichum fürer bruchen // welle, sölle er Ime ouch fürhin lassen, unn // er den Costen erliiden. hiebij war // rend. her, Bullinger, Gualther, Wolf, wick, Lafater, Amman, Collin, Simler, Gefßner, Haller. //

[numbered] 40 [r]

Als aber M. Hans Fries etwas bedurens da // ran hatt, ließ er alle sachen ruwen, bis bald // darnach Iacobus Huldrichus prouisor ward, da // stalt er sinen son M. hansen den Jungen Inn die schul doch mit vorwüßen der verordneten zu // der schul, diewijl keiner funden ward der // es bas dann er, versähen könnte. //

Thobias Bibliander so bij drijen Jaren // hievor ouch wider die ordnung gewijbet und derhalben sines stipendij entsetzt was, begärt ouch // uff den tag, das man inn wider begnaden, unn siner langen armut und mangels halben wider // inn das stipendium ufnehmen weltte, ouch im. // zavor Examinieren und zuverhören wie er // gefaßet und was er gestudiert, Alda das // letst bewilliget das er umm Johannis anhier sölte // examinirt, und nach dem er befunden, siner // halben sölte gehandelt werden. Er

ward // demnach am 29 Junij dis 63 Jars examiniert, und // also funden das er admit-  
tiert, Im die 40 gl // gestimpt, unn wijach zu versähen geordnet ward. //

Den 28. Maij. //

Als dann hievor dick klag gsin, das die mee // reren Claßes inn den schulen nit nach  
beßer not // turpft weder mit Latinischen noch Griechischen Gram // maticen versähen  
werind, derhalben inn der // gmeinen Censura upf den 25 Aprilis nechst ver // schinen  
gehalten, abgeradten ouch etliche darzu // verordnet, gesähen wie der sach zu dem al  
// ler besten beschehen möchte, derhalben Dnus Col // linus, D. Sebastianus Guldibek,  
Lafaterus, Sim // lerus, Vuikius unn Hallerus dises tags zesa // men kommen, alda nach  
allem erwägen der //

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notturpft und der schuleren nun, einhellig abgeradten, das Dn. Sebastianus Guldibek  
als ein // fürtraffenlicher grammaticus, Erstlich ein ganze // Latinische Grammatic uß  
dem Donato unn anderen // Grammaticis, mit allen teilen der Grammatic, upf // das  
aller verstäntlichst und kürzist zesamen // ziihen sölle, alda er uß dem donat thun,  
was // inn zu vil bedunke, und widerum was da // rinnen zewenig und zedunkel, uß  
anderen // und sinem gutbeduncken nach, darzu thun // welle, demnach glicher gstat  
mit Cepo // rini Grammatica handeln, und die selbig ouch nach allen teilen der Gram-  
matic vergänzen unn // verbeßere sölle, welchs er zethun ganz gut // willig upf sich  
genommen. //

Den 5. Junij. //

Upf disen tag erschein hans maaler so sonst // ein burger von hinnen, aber sich etliche  
Jar har // inn unser gnädigne herren Landschafft und Im // turgöw mit tütsche schul  
zu halten ernert hatt, vor // den verordneten zu der leer, zeigen an, wie // er sich seiner  
noturpft nach etliche Jar ußenhalb // mit schul halten bewasen, ouch dess verschinen  
// winters uß pitt dess pfarrers zu sirnach // Bettwisen versähen mit predigen, alda  
der apt von fischingen als Collator der pfunden // hirnach so vil willens zu im gewun-  
nen, // diewijl er sonst den pfarrer zu sirnach etli // cher sachen halben zeurlouben  
gwsinnet were, // das er Ime gedachtem maaler die pfarr // sirnach lijhen und zustel-  
len welte, so farr // er von Zürich von den herren und Exa // minatoribus brief und sigel  
brechte, das er darzu geschickt unn tugenlich were, //

[numbered] 41 [r]

und dadannen gepürende fürdernunß erlan // gen möchte, diewijl aber er nie in mi//  
ner herren stipendio gsin noch drinn gstudiert, ouch // sich alhie weder examinieren

laßen, noch je ze // bruchen begärt, unn man wol gwüßen das er nüt // gstudiert noch können, ward im begärte für // dernuß als einszo dass wir uns mit zubeladen // het-tind, abgeschlagen, Darüber er wij // ter begärt Ime doch alsin ein urkund zugä // ben das er alhie inn die schul gegangen, // und sich wol und erlich gehalten hette, unn diewijl es minen herren schwär was sölichs // zethun, von wegen das er sich dess selbigen // mißbruchen und under disem schijn sich selb zum dienst der kilchen inwurken möchte, und // man doch im gern etwas schijns der warheit // mit geteilt hette, habend die verordneten // herren zur leer, nach verhören meister hansen // friesen under dem er zu schul gangen, // erkent inne folgende opfne gschripft unn schijn zegäben. //

Ich wolfgang haller diser zijt geordneter // schulherr der schul zürich, bekennen mich // mit disem brief, als upf hütt datum vor mir // und den verordneten zu der leer erschienen // hans maaler, und begärt imme ein gschripft // lich urkünd zegäben, das er alhie inn die // schul gegangen, und wie er sich darinn ge // halten, das wir upf verhören hin Mei // ster hansen friesen unsers schulmeisters zu // dem großenmünster befunden, das er un // der imm ze schul gangen, und bis inn die dritt Classen kommen, das er sich ouch der // selbigen zijt siner Jugent nach so vil uns // zewüßen wol und eerlich gehalten, doch // inn die höheren Classes nit kommen, ouch //

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in unter schul inn den heligen geschripften // zu dem kilchendienst gar nüt gestudiert, der // halben von uns weder Examiniert, noch je // nen zu dem dienst der Kilchen geförderteten // worden, sonder er sich das zijt als er uß // der schul kommen in anderwäg siner not // turft nach betragen, und als vil uns ze // wüßen sich bishar eerlich und wol ge // halten hatt. Dess hab ich im upf // sijn begären hin als von unser schul wägen diesen brief werden laßen, mit // minem eignen Insigel bewaret, der gäben // ist den fünften tag Brachmonats Im 1563 // Jar. //

Dionysius Melander uß beßen so etliche zijt // alhie gstudiert, und von den sinen heimerupften // ward, begärt im ein abscheid und besiglete kunt // schapft wie er sij gehalten hette, zegäben, die ward // imm erkent upf folgende form zegäben. //

Uniuersis et singulis hasce lecturis, salutem // in Domino. Discessurus a nobis Dionysius Melandro // Hesus, publicum suorum studiorum vitaeque apud nos // actae testimonium sibi dari petijt. Hisce itaque // praesentibus nos scholarcha reliquique Tigurinae // scholae praesides, non modo iussum ac debitum testi // monium, verum etiam firmum et graue perconi // um dandum illi merito iudicauimus. Cum enim // ea sit apud nos in studijs suis versatus diligentia // qua magnam omnibus nobis de se expectationem // prae buerit, eamque conuersationis suae integritate // morumque probitate iuxta pro ingenij sui cando // re ornauit, non possumus non hoc testari tantus, //

sed celebrare quoque insuper. Quare hanc eius // industriam ac virtutem, quam tantis  
ita nos com // plectimur, literis hisce ita praedicatam volumus, // ut summe quoque  
omnibus bonis illum propter illam //

[numbered] 41.a. [r]]

commendatum semper cupiamus. Verte. Data // et scholarchae nostri Vuolphgangi  
Halleri sigil // lo obsignatae. Tiguri. s. Iunij. Anno 1563. //

Den 17. Junij. //

Als nach dem Examine In gehaltner Censur // abgeredt etlicher knaben halben so wol  
stu // stiert und wol bestanden, und aber sij non mee alt und erwachsen, und kein  
andere hilpf mer // teils dann allein von dem gemeinen Almusen // mus und brot und  
wuchenlich zwen schilling // gehalten, und man inen mit keiner hilpf oder // orden-  
lichen stipendijs von dem oberen ouch // dem underen Gstipft können oder mögen,  
// mangels und vils der stipendiaten, halb, ze // hilpf kommen, wijtere nachtrachtung  
zehaben, // und vermeint worden, das der gefaßet radt // schlag etlicher der verordne-  
ten zu der leer, // Namlich das Iohannes Vuolfensperger so // bishar uß her Bruggers  
Stipendio ouch vom // almusen erhalten, und nun bald an die frömb // de zeschicken  
were, an das stipenidum der // 25 bij dem oberen Gstipft, und dann Mel // chior Rieder  
an sijn statt In her Bruggers // Stipendium sölte genommen werden, und den // uberi-  
gen Iohanni Vogler, Iohanni Pe // tri, Georgio Boßhart und Iodoco Boßhart // uß gmei-  
nem gut uß her köchlis Ampt, von unseren gnädigen Herren, zimliche stür und // hilpf  
beschehen möchte, an unser gnädig her // ren die Rächenherren zelangten laßen, // ist  
das selbigt durch mich upf den tag vor // inen fürgetragen, und lut volgender urteil von  
ihnen also angenommen, erkent // und beschloßen, //

[41.a. v]

Nach dem her wolfgang haller verwalt // ter der Bropstijs und dess studentenampts,  
mi // nen herren den Rächenherren fürgetragen, wie // sechs knaben, dero namen  
inen wol bekänt, // bishar im Almusen erhalten, die mit den // zweijen schillingen so  
sij wuchenlichen habind, // sich mit den bücheren, und anderen dingen, nit // nach  
notturpft versähen, nach sich darmit be // hälpfen mögind, dann sij zu der leer der //  
maßen einen anfang, ouch lust und liebe tragind, // das sij vil mee zefürderen, und  
bald (ob // Gott wil) zebruchen werind, zuseonders wolffen // sperger und Rieder, darum  
sij die her // ren gelerten in nechstgehaltner Censur, upf // Iro miner herren gefallen  
hin, uß beweglichen // ursachen beradtschlagen, den Wolfensperger // an das Gstipft  
ufhin zenehmen, darneben sölte // man den Rieder uß herren Bruggers säli// gen gut  
erhalten, und den ubrigen vil von ein beßerung über die zwen schilling thun, da-  
rus bücher und andere Ire nottürfften dester // bas zewüßen überkommen, mit etwas



wijte // ren wertten und umständen, und sonderlich // der früntlichen pitt, sij mine herren welt // tind ir gut bedunken zu gefallen upf und // annemmen, und hierijn iren günsten und vil // len gäben., Wann nun die selben // mine herren gänzlich gesinnet, die Eer gut // tes und sijn helig Eewig wort zu fürde // ren, und die so zu der leer tugentlich, zeufnen, und hieran nüzich zuerwinden // laßen, so habend sij disen gehörten radt // schlag allenklich zu gefallen angenommen, // und den selbigen hiemit bestäten, das // namlich der wolfsperger an das Gstipft // inn das selbig stipendium genommen, dess // glichen der Rieder an sijn statt uß herren // Bruggers gut, wie obstadt, erhalten, dar // neben sölle den anderen vieren, und mit //

[numbered] 42 [r]

nammen jedem insonders järlichen uber die // zwen schilling und das mus so inen sonst geord // net, uß hernn obman köchlis Ampt, zwenzig // pfund uff die fronfasten abgeteilt, zu beßerung // bevolgen, thut zu jeder fronfasten fünf pfund, und iren Jedem die ersten fünf pfund upf // verschine fronfasten pfingsten angangen sijn, // und daruf bezahlt werden. Actus Donstags // den 17 Brachmonats Im 1563, presentus // her Burgermeister von Cham und die geord // neten Rächenherren. //

ulinger Rächenscriber szt.//

Den 20. Iunij //

Her hans herter provisor begärt sines bruders Jochim // herters halben so der selbigen zijt inn der oberen // Gstipft stipendio uß was und zu Genff studiert, // das man imm erlauben welte. 1. Erstlich, die // wijl er gesinnet mit sinem volcke gen Baden zo // faren, und sijn bruder ouch badens wol bedörpfte, // das er Inn zu im daselbst hin berupfen möchte. // 2. Demnach diewijl er nun mee ein gute zijt // zu Genpf gsin, und fürhin ein andere schul // bas für inn sijn möchte, nach gehaltner badenfart // gen heidelberg zeziihen. das ward im beider // sijts nachgelaßen. //

Hans peter mällers halben ward fürbracht, // wie sijn vatter so vil sinethalben, uber das das // man sich sinen hievor entschlagen und von viler // ursachen wegen abge- wisen, useren gnädigen // herren den rädten nachgeloupfen were, und // von Inen ein bekantnus erlangen, das die // Examinatores Inn examinieren und verhören // söltind. Diss ward angeschlagen zethun uff //

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das aller erst so ouch andere Examiniert wur // dint, damit er sich keiner gfaar zubeklagen // hette so man inn alein examinieren wurde, // diss ist darnach am 29 Junij beschehen, wie bald // volget. //

Und als der selbigen tagen hievor hernn // Baschion Guldinbeck dem schulmeister zu dem // frowenmünster etwas begegnet schlags halben, // das er die schul nit angends widerum versä // hen mocht, darzu sin rpouisor her hans // bierbruijer gen höngg geordnet was, da // mit die schul unn keine Claßes darinnen un // versähen blibind, ward Meister Joder Col // linus geordnet hernn Schulmeistern zu versä // hen, und diewijl her hans von abgang we // gen das alten apes wettingen, und das noch // kein nüwer geordnet, nit bscheid hat höngg // halben, wolt man keinen anderen provisor nem // men, bis ouch hie vor er wüßte wie er // mit dem apt nohin kommen, und versähen möch // te werden. //

Die wijl ouch nüwe klag kam der stu // dierenden knaben halben, wie sij mit großen // ergernus der burgeren, und mit großem schaden iren selb, zu ungewonlichen zijten, upf der brugg, upf dem helmhus, ouch ie upf der statt // graben, oder sonst upf den gaßen spazirterind, und upf dem kilchhof zu dem frowenmünster // upf den selbigen bäncken sich vil besamle // sind, und mit viler lüten ergernus alda // schwaztind, ouch sich mit nüwer wijs die dol // chen fürhin zehencken und vil fantasijen // zeriben, befließind, ouch die ermal an den // rücken nit anthetind, und an den hochzij // ten vor den kilchtüren und upf den kilch // höfen, wider unserer herren opfen vegangen // mandat, stundint, ward erkent, das //

[numbered] 43 [r]

...le mijne gnedigen herren, Burgermeister und Rath der Statt Zürich, angelangt // und fürkommen, wie das die Studenten und schuler, alhie so zu stipendio erhalten, // und uferzogen werden, die täglichen predigen gar schlechtlich und unvlijßig be= // suchind, sich der gutten usgerichteten Ordnungen, und Ires stands gantz ungmäß // halltind. Unnd danarthin Inn Examines uff nottwändige fragstuck. unbegründt zu // antworten sigind, An wellichen gesagte mijne Herren, vin tröffenlich mißvallen Fu= // erwägung des mercklichen rostens, das mit Zwen den schuleren und stipendiatijs ange=// wändt wirt, empfanngen, Unnd deßhalben. söllichen mißbruch daruß großer erger=// niß volgen möchte, mit stattlichem Ansähen Zubegegnen, höchlich bewegt werden, Unnd // Namlich so Ist Fründtlich will unnd meinung, das hinfüro alledie, so mit dem stipendio // begaabet, versächen unnd nemmend, sij sigind gewandelt al- // lurt, vntz sij sölle uérthalt // pfrunden habent, täglichen Inn die frugen rpediten gaan sollind, unnd dero gar käme, // one erloupnus unnd eehaff ursachen versunnen, dann wellicher vine, B... mer uß=// blibe, die wie obstadt, nit besuchte, unnd darzu giennge, der sölb unnd ein Feder Inn=// sonderheit, sölle so oft unnd vil er das Übersicht. unnd nit halt. von einer Feder // predig. ous behempsch. also bow Zu nächter straaft. unnd buß göben und verfallen // sijn, Wo aber einer söllichen bestimpten behempsch, nit glich angäntz zuerleg=// gen hette, Das dann Inne dersölbig unnd wie vil sich dero betrifft, an sijnem geord=// netten stipendio abgezogen werden sölle, Unnd damit

sölliche bußen // vlijseig unnd gestrazo Ingetzogen, wellent vernämpte mijne Herren, das die verord=// netten herren Examinatores, ald schulherren, angönty ein sonderbare person hier=// zu (Inen gutten beduncken nach) oukissind unnd erwellind, die mit allem vlijss // unnd ernst, uff Fetz erzelt Ir gutt ansähen und Ordnung acht und sorg habe, die // angesetzt buß, von den ungehorsammen, one verschonen, Inzuiche, vnnd den sthuch=// herren, so Je zu Zijtten sind, dassölbig gölte. überantworte. Ab wolllichem // allem, oftgesagte mijne Herren ernstlich hallten wellen, mit dem heitteren vor=// behalt, worinnen sich söllichen Ordnung. Zuwil widerspennig entzeigen, das sij // es nit darbij blijven, sonder die hächer unnd wijtter straaften werden, Inmaß=// en ein Jeder welte das er dem glöpt unnd nach kommen ware, ... Mittwoch // den XXX... Junij. Anno ... Lxij... Herr Burgermeister Müller Statt=// hallter unnd beid Rätth./. //

Stattschrijber zu // Zürich ... //

[numbered] 45 [r]

fürhin alweg uß Irer zal zwen ufsäher // söltind geordnet werden, die upf die anderen // achten, und die es Inn die publicas Lectiones // giengind so dicht sij söllichs thetind, einem schul // herren leiden, unn hiemit ein jeder j ß he // buß, welche den armen knaben an bucher sölt // tind werwendt werden, verfallen sijn, und die // bas von Inen oder an den stipendijs abgezogen // werden söltind. So es aber knaben werind // die nach inn den classibus und inn die schul // giengind, sij mit der ruten Inn der schul // darum söltind gestrapfen werden. //

Söllichs ist agends darnach inn den schu // len durch ire ufsäher geopfnet, und ouch // den publicis allen Im Lectorio besamlet mit // ernst anzeigt, unn hierüber Iohannes Steffanus und Casparus zur Linden zu den ersten uf // säheren geordnet. //

Bernhardus Schaltenbrand und Solomon // Siberus bed stipendiaten von Schafhusen, wur // den ouch beschickt, und Bernhardo fürgehalten, // wie 1. Er vil mit großer ver-  
sumnus siner guten zijt gen Wäningen hinab zuge zu her // hans heinrichen Müller von einer tochter wägen // so gedachts pfarrers frowen schwöster, und // von schafhusen were, dess die sinen groß miß // fallen doran trugind und vil bedurens het // tind.  
2. Das er alhie ein gar kostlichen // und uast unkumlichen tisch hette, und sich // nit versähe als einem studioso wol geburte // und wol kente. 3. das er ouch vast zeer hapft were, und mit etlichen anderen gsellen // daneben vil vorhäte, dess er gar ernstlich // darum gestrafft und darvon gewisen /. // Ouch inen beden mit einanderen mit ernst be // vholen, die lätzgen und predgenen In denen // sij wenig und unflüßig, zu irem nun, flüßig // zewichen, unn in alweg wol zehalten, welchs // sij ouch bij besten trüwen verheißen. //

[45v]

Iacobus Koul zum frowenmünster der im Exa // mine bis upf Johannis anhin was angestellt, ward // ouch publicus. //

Rodolphus Wirt und //

Marius Mijs, so bed bij her hans wolpfen // warend, wurdent ouch zu gelaßen von sien // her wolpfen gutduncken und pitt, Lectionem The // ologicam zehören, dann er vermeint zij es am // verstand wol hettind, und wurde inen nut... unn // fruchtbar sij. //

Initium Lectionis Theologicae // Dn. Iohannis Vuolfij. //

Als dann upf den 16 Maij dises 63 Jars, // her Josias simler an hernn doctor petri Martyris // säligen stand kommen und sij Successor worden, // daneben her hans wolpf derzijt pfarrer zu // dem frowenmünster geordnet mit Im ein wu // chen um die ander in Theologia zeläsen, usge // nommen den sampstag, als obstadt, hat er upf // den 21 Junij Im nammen Gottes angefangen, // und nach gfallen der verordneten, zu der // leer, für sich genommen Historiam Regum an // dem ordt wo her doctor Martyr sätig er // wunden, fürzufuren. //

Am 26 Iunij, fieng her Josias Sim // ler an in her hans wolpfen wuchen, lut // den sampstag zu versähen, nam für sich veli // che Locos Communes ze tractieren so den audi // toribus zu dem verstand etlicher orden Deu // teronomij in welichem er dise jijt las, gar // dienstlich warend. //

[numbered] 46 [r]

29. Junij.

Upf den tag wurdent examiniert, Thobi // as Bibliander, unn als er demnach mit predgen ouch // verhört, ward zu gelaßen, unn Im wijach ange // heckt zu versähen. //

Conradus Waser ward ouch mit Im Exa // miniert, und als er mit dem predgen nit wol // gefastet, ward er noch unn ein halb Jar des predgens halben hinder sich gstelt. //

Iohannes Petrus Müller ward ouch mit // Inen examiniert, diewijl es von einem Eer // sammen radt unseren gnädigen herren also erkent // was, und ward in Latinscher vonn Griechischer // sprach, ouch in Dialecticis und Rhetoricis zimlich // funden, das man ein gut benugen an Imm hatt, // aber Imm verstand der heligen gschripft und // der fürnemsten articlen der Christenlichen religi // on, was er also schwach, das man inn mit // wolt laßen predigen, sonder er ward ernst // lich vermandt, so fer er gesinnet sich ouch mit // der zijt upf das predigen zugäben, das er flißig in Theologia studieren, die Lectiones Theologicas und die predginen ernstlich // hören und flißig ufzeichnen sölte. hiebij // warend alle herren Examinatores, ouch her // Seckelmeister sprüngli und Junker Jacob // hab Examinatores von den rädten und den Burgeren. //

30. Junij //

wurdent examiniert // Foelix Müli und // Andreas Rosenstok, und nach dem sij mit // predgen verhört, ouch zu gelaßen // Johannes Osualdus Fäsi und // Vuolfgangus Rikenman, wurdent ouch // mit Inen examiniert, aber sij bed wur // dent upf ein halb Jar hinder sich gstelt, das // man sij dann wider examinieren sölte. //

[46v]

14. Julij. // von der studenten und stip=// pendiaten kilchgang. //

Als dann lange zijt vil muij gehaben wor // den mit etlichen studenten und stipendiaten // täglich die morgen predginen flißig zubesuchen // und zehören, und aber sölchs bij etlichen we // nig gebracht, habend unser gnädig herren // Burgermeister und ein Eersammer radt, selber // darüber ordnung gestelt und gemacht, wie // er fürhin sölle gebracht und gehalten wer // den, und lutet die selbig ire erkenntnus // also. //

Als mine gnädigen Herren burgermei // ster und Rath der Statt Zürich angelant und // fürkommen, wir das die studenten und schu // ler alhie, so im stipendio erhalten und uferzo // gen werdent, die täglichen predginen gar schlächt // lich und unflißig besuchind, und sich der // guten uferrichteten Ordnungen und Ires stands // ganz ungemäß haltind, und dannethin Im // Examine upf notwändige fragstück unbe // gründt zu antworten sigind, an welchem gesagte mine herren ein tröpfenlich mißfallen // In erwägung dess merklichen Costens, der // mit Inen den schuleren und Stipendiarijs // angewändt wirt, empfangen, und deß // halben söllichem mißbruch darus große erger // nus volgen möchte mit stattlichen Insähen zu // begegnen, höchlich bewegt worden, und // namlich so ist Ir endlich will und mei // nung, das hinfür alle die so mit dem sti // pendio begaabet, versähen, und das sel // big nemmend, sij sigind gewandelt oder nitt, / umz die selben ußerthalben pfründen habend, täglichen Inn die fruijen predginen gar // söllind, und deren gar keine one erloutpnuß und Eehafel ursachen versuten, dann // welicher eine oder meer ußblibe, die wie //

[numbered] 47 [r]

obstadt nit besuchte, und darijn gienge, der // selb und ein Jeder in sonderheit, sölle so offt // und vil er das ubersicht und nit halten, von // einer jeden predig einen behennch also bar zu // rechter waff und buß gäben, und verfallen // sijn: wo aber einer söllichen bekentnus nit // glich angends zu erleggen hette, das dann inne // der selbig, und wie vil sich deren bewipfen, // an sinem geordneten stipendio abgezogen wer // den sölle, und damit sölliche bußen // flißig und gestrag ingezogen, wellend ernempte // mine herren, das die verordneten herren Exa // minatores ald schulherren, angends ein son // derbare person herizu irem guten beduncken // nach erbiesind, und erwillind, die mit // allem flijß und ernst, upf ietz erzelt ir gut // ansähen und ordnung, acht und sorg habe, // die angesetzt buß von den unghorsammen ent // verschonen Inziehe,

und den schulherren so // je zu zijten sind das selbig gält uberant // wurte, Ob welichem allem, abgesagte mi // ne herren ernstlich halten wellend, mit dem // heiteren vorbehalt, wo einer sich sölicher ord // nung zu vil widerspännig erzeigen, das sij es // nit darbij laßen bliben, sonder die höher und // wijter strapfen worden, Unmaßen ein Jeder welte // das er dem geläst und nach kommen were, // arte witwuchen den 30 Junij, Anno 63. // peruil. her Burgermeister Müller Statthalter und beid rädt. //

Stattschriber zu Zürich ...//

hierupf so bald miner herren erkantnuß gschrift // lich uberantwortet, wurdent angends Inn das Lectorium alle Studiosi so dise erkantnuß belangen mocht, zesamen berufft, inen die vorgelä //

sen, sij all ernempt und in einen Zädel up // geschriben so diser zijt sölich ordnung haltten // söltind, Es was ouch Inen ein gwüß ordt // bestimpt, alda sij sich Inn den predginen söltind // laßen finden, namlich zu dem Großenmünster // upf der Canzel, und zu gant poter Inn dem // Chor: so ward zum ersten ufsäher geordnet // Iohannes Steffanus, und Im alle // dero nammen In einen rodel gegäben so di // ser ordnung geläben söltind. Actus 15 Julij. //

Und als Iohannes Steffanus bald darnach // gen wandlen geschickt, ward Casparus zur // Linden zum ufsäher geordnet, unn im gedach // ter Catalogus uberantwortet. //

Uilhelmus Vuäber //

so lang Im stipendio erhalten, und schon // von wandlen wider heim kommen, ward uff disen tag den 15 Julij geurloubet, von // wegen begangnen Eebruchs mit einer Eefrowen, // ob er gen wandlen gezogen, und hat man sich // sinen entschlagen. //

Iohannes Petrus Müller, //

Als er mit anderen als obstadt Examiniert, // und dess predigens halben uff oberzelten ur // sachen stillgestellt, was sijn vatter vast un // ruwig, tröwt für unsere gnedige herren si // nen Eersammen radt widerumm zu keeren, dess // geordnet M. Heinrich Bullinger und ich, be // de herren burgermeister sinder sachen halben // zu berichten, unn sij ju bitten das sij Inn nit // fürlaßen, und uns bij ganz acheter schulord // nung schirmen wellind, damit nieman wi // der dise der kilchen ufergerucht werdint, // Beschach noch dess tags. //

26 Julij zugend hiedannen hinweg. // Dn. Otto oi Depolt nobilis Frisius // M. Wyardus Langius, Frisius. //

[numbered] 48 [r]

Acta 8. Augusti. //

Censura zu dem frowen // münster. //

Ward upf disen tag gehalten zu bij sijn unse // rer gnädigen herren der schulherren von den // rhäten, Inn deren man mit dem Dno Samuele // Pellicano Paedagogo wol zefriden was, und mit // den knaben ouch zimlich, anders das sij ernst // lich vermant, goty förchrig, flißig, ghorsam und züchtig zesijn, In ansähen den großen Costens so an sij gewändt, und dess großen guts darum // das beschähe, namlich Gottes Eer und der enen // schon heil und ouch zirliche wolfart zesuchen // und zefürderen. //

Vnd als her hans herter nach langer // handlung der pfrund Gachlingen halben Inn // das turgöw kommen, und von den Collatoribus // Inn der Oun mit gwüßen gedingen angeno // men, habend die verordneten schulherren // mit einhelligem radt und meer, Iacobum // Huldrichum so dem meister hans friesen mee // dann ein Jar ein lätzgen inn der schul mit // großem fliß unn lob, mit einhelligem raden // und meer, Zu einem prouisor im die ober // schul angenommen. //

Als ouch her hans Bierbruijer proui // sor zu dem frowenmünster vor etwas zij // ten gen höngg geordnet, und nun mee ouch wußt wie sine sachen der pfrund halben gestaltet, ward ouch mit einhelligem meer // zum prouisor der underen schul gewelt // Meister rudolf Collinus, als der lange // zijt die dritt Classen Inn der oberen schul // mit großem fliß und lob versähen. //

Als er aber ouch darzu das filial wij // ticken, und her Bierbruijer. das filial // Rieden mit predigen versähen, ward abge //

[48v]

redt diewijl die upf wijticken sinen wol // gewonet, das er die selbigen wijter, und // welicher an sijn statt Inn die ober schul ge // ordnet wurde, der selbigen die von Rieder // versähen sölte. //

Und diewijl die Schulherren sonst // bestandet, gfiel Inen grad ouch tertiam Classen der oberen schul zu versähen, unn sinen ande // ren an M. rodolfi Collini statt zenemen. Al // da wurdent ernempt Iohannes Casparus Gold // lin, M. Iohannes Frisius iunior, D. Foelix En // gelhart, als der hievor eines beßeten stands, // unn eintwädere prouisorij zu versähen be // gärt hette, Also ward her felix En // gelhart erwelt, damit im die nutzung siner besoldung um etwas gebeßeret wurde, //

Als aber er sich dieser stands anzenemen widriget, ward er am 9 Augusti siner // ursachen halben verhört, die warend. 1. // das er nit gefürderet were, diewil er Inn der underen Schul ouch tertiam Classem ver // sehe, die er ouch doben vorsähen müßte.

2. so were die besoldung wenig besser, aber // die arbeit zweifalt schwärer, diewijl er // doben darzu ouch ein filial mit predi // gen versähen mußse. 3. So hette er nun ein willen zu der schul und gar // keinen zu dem predigen, begärte derhalben // allein bij der schul zubliven. 4. So hette er siner knaben In siner Classe, unn // sij hinwiderum sinen gewonet. 5. ouch hette er sijn hus Inn der großen statt mer // teils darum verkouft, unn ein ander hus // koupft Inn der kleinen statt damit er dester // näher zu der schul hette, so wurde im // dise kumligkeit benommen so er die gedacht // Classem annemmen mußse. 8. unn beson // der wüße er nitt Inn der schul zedie // nen und ouch zepredigen, mit pitt, das //

[numbered] 49 [r]

man Inn deße erlaßen welle, und zu ande // rer zijt uwan mit einem besseren schuldienst // als zu dem er gar ein guten willen haben, vor // sälgen welle. //

Hierüber aber mine herren vermeint, // Er habe darum begärt sich zu examinieren // laßen, ouch sigind Im darum die 40 Gl das // jerlich stipendium gesprochen, das er sich Inn der schul unn mit predigen nach Irem gfallen // bruchen laße, und diewijl man Inn nit // wijter ungeübt fürderen könne, habe er // bij disem stand ein fijne vbung dess predi // gens, darinn er sich hiemit wol erbeßeren // möge, so habe er ouch alda das besser // stipendium weder an dem Jenenen ordt, und /// sige beschehen, zu gutem Imm, und Zugefallen // siner Eerenfründen, die sonst gedenken // möchtind das man inn mit gfaaren sumen // und hinderen welte, das aber nit sige, dess er sich ghorsamklich darin ergäben // sölle, dess er aber sich nit bereden las // sen, derhalben erkent, das mit sinen // herren fründen und vetteren, hern Sekelmei // ster sprünglin, Juncker felix Engelharten und // Meister Jacob Wirtzen sölte geredt werden, das In sölichs zu gutem ouch Inen zu ge // fallen beschehe wero, so ferr aber sij Inn dess erlaßen, und das für kein gfaar // an die verordneten zu der schul achten, // wellind sij Inn dar zu mit gwalt nit trin // gen, mit pitt mit Ime zuverschaffen das // er nachmals das beßt thun welte, //

und als er gegen Inen ouch abgedachte // sine bschwernußsen erzelt, habend sij Inn dess erlaßen, und die verordneten ouch, doch nit dem anhang, das er sich rpedigens nit widrigen, sonder In einem monat sich rüsten sölle ein predig ußenhalb zuthun, und demnach Je ze monaten aber eine, damit er dess predigens ouch gwone, //

[49v]

wo er aber sich den predigens allenklich wi // drigen wurde, sölle er allein, 25 gl vom // stipendio und 10 gl von der schul haben, // also hat er sich entboten In monats frist zu // predigen, und dannethin sich ouch wijter zu // versuchen, mit pitt das man Inn ouch als ei // nen anderen Burgerssun In gnedigem be // danken haben welle. //



Und damit Tertia Classis der oberen // schul nit länger unversähen blibe, habend // die  
verordneten dahin geordnet Iohannem // Casparum Göldlin, die selbig, und dar zu das  
// filial Rieden mit predigen zuversähen annus // den 17 Junij. //

Und als Hans Caspar Göldlin hievor // secundam classem Inn der oberen schul //  
versähen, ward inn die selbig geordnet Tho // bias Bibliander. //

10. Augusti ward Iacobus Urich pre // sentiert Inn der oberen schul. //
16. Augusti ward m. rudolf Collinus pre // sentiert Inn der underen schul. //
17. augusti wurdent hans Caspar Göldli // unn Thobias buchman ouch presentiert  
inn der oberen schul. //
17. ward Andreas Rosenstok in die under schul // geordnet, primam classem  
zuversähen. //

Acta 17. Augusti. //

ward geradschlaget der knaben halben an // der frömbde, ouch deren halb so alhie  
von // beden gstipften begärtend an die frömbde ge // schickt werden, und wurdent  
von dem obe // ren gstift fünf geordnet an die frömbde // zeziihen. //

Iohannes Vuolfensperger und //

Abel Vuerdmüller, gen Marpurg. aber //

Iohannes Steffanus // Leonhardus Hofmeister // Michel Heitz, gen Basel. //

[numbered] 50 [r]

und wie wol man gern von dem frowenmün // ster Iohannem Heinrichum Vuin und  
Iosephum // Breitwäg gern mit inen geschickt hette, ward doch // geachtet. 1. das  
dises diser zijt minen herren // bchwerlich sijn wurde, so sonst von dem underen  
// Gstift noch vil uff inen unversähen hettind. 2. // und diewijl noch etlich knaben  
daselbst glich // als alt unn geschickt da werind als dise zwen, // wurdint die selbigen  
gar unwillig worden, // derhalben sij für gut angesähen, hern Bur // germeistern  
Müllern und herr Seckelmeistern // Sprünglin sölichs anzuzeigen, warum sij ietz //  
nit geschickt, die sonst hire vor zusen zu schicken // erlaupt hettind, mit pitt, das sij  
vergünsti // gen weltind uff die künftig ostermäs noch // zwen mit Inen zeschieden  
lassen, so schickind wir zezunder fünf, und werdint dann keine schicken. Also ha-  
bend es Inen gedackte // bed herren wolgefallen lassen, und Ime // also zethun  
bewilliget. //

Der anderen halb so dußen warend, // ward abgeredt. //

Das Foelix Trüb von basel gen Heidel // berg ziihen sölte. // Aber hans rudolf bigel  
und Esaia // wegger söltind zu basel bliben. // Iochim Herter, Amandu fiecher und Za  
// charias Schörli söltind zu heidelberg bis // uff wijteren bscheid bliben. //

Christophorus Rüter, Rodolphus Käller // und Johannes Huser söltind ouch nachmals // zu marpurg bliben. // Hans Jacob und Hans wilhelm die // Bränwalden, zu bAsel bliben. // Vuilhelmus Stüki aber sölte gen // tübingen ziihen. // Iohannes Steiner und Iacobus Suler // so zu Bern, söltind gen Losannen ziihen, // unn söltind alle dise den glerten und pro // fessoribus hin unn her wol commendiert wer // den. //

[50v]

Uff den tag begärt ouch her Jos Bren // wald, von sägen sines sons hans wilhelmen, // den man im vergünt hette an die frömbde ze // thun im Stipendio der 25 gl, das man im ouch wie einem anderen die 40 gl, damit // er den costen dester bas mit Im erlijden, gäben // weltte. Diss ward Im vergunnen, so ferr // er gute kuntschaft hette von sinen praeceptoribus // den profeßoribus von Basel, das er sich wol // hielte, die lätzen flißig beschichte, declamier // te und disputierte, unn ob er das bishar ver // sumpt, doch fürhin mit allem ernst thete. //

Dominus sebastianus Guldinbeck schulmei // ster der underen schul zu dem frowenmünster, // begärt ouch dess tags, das im gmeine herren // die verordneten zu der leer, weltind gegen un // seren gnädigen herren beholfen sijn um ein // beßerung oder ververung sijn läben lang, in an // sähen siner langen und flißigen schuldiensten, bij denen er alweg gar kleine besoldung ge // haben hette, und nun mee alt, sijn bruch groß, und er mit lijbs zu sal und vil 8 uns // kinden belande, ouch im hievor etliche unfäl // denen er um vil kommen, begegnet werind, // alda M. heinrich Bullinger und ich geord // net herunn Burgermeistern Müllern als presi // denten der rächenherren mit ernstlicher pitt // ime trülich und Eerlich Zubedencken, fürze // bringen, welchs ouch beschehen, alda // gedachter herr bevholen sölichs in ein sup // plicatz zu stellen, so welle er es unseren her // ren den rächenherren fürbringen. Unn // wie sölichs beschehen, habend sij sich nit // höhers gwalts dann Ime mit ... gl die sij // im ouch gesprochen zu vereeren, annemmen // wellen, mit dem anhang wo er sich sö // lichen nit benugen möge, möge er wol // für unsere gnädigen herren einen Eersam //

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men radt keren, um wijters zebitten. //

Als aber Dominus Sebast. den 29 Novemb. um // wijter hilpf und bijstand von den glerten begärt, ward im das abgeschlagen, unn vermeint, weger // were, ruwig sijn, oder one unser hilpf handlen. //

Acta 28. Augusti //

Es wurdent fürgstellt die fünf knaben, denen // hievor am 17 Augusti erloutp was an die frömb // de zeziihen, und inen mit ernst bevholen. // 1. wohin sij kommen, sich

mit radt der glerten // zu verdingen und um herberg, eintweders in den Collegijs oder  
sonst an erlichen unverlumbde // ten ordten, zuversähen, unn nit bestliche bisch //  
koupfen, in ansähen wie sij in stipendium ertra // gen möge, und nit den edellüten zu  
zeren // wellind. //

2. das sij züchtig unn demutig, mit dem // wandel und der kleidung sigind, nit  
prachtig, // und wüßind das sij noch unseren schulordnungen nit minder dann  
daheim undergetan sigind // und sijn söllind. //
3. Das sij die Lectiones so inen nütz, in // Linguis, artibus, Physicis, Theologia,  
flißig // besuchind, und sich mit disputioren und declamieren und allen notwen-  
digen exercitijs gern // bruchen laßind. Ouch die predginen flißig // besuchind  
und hörind. //
4. Das sij ob der frömbde vil heim //

[51v]

schribind, damit man ir fliß und zunehmen // wol gspüren möge. //

5. Das sij sich mit nieman weder von dem Sa // cramenten noch mit anderen spän-  
nigen articlen in // zanck und hader inlaßind, sonder was an sij // anget mit aller  
früntligkeit und bcheidenheit // alleinnind. //
6. Das sij mit gutem lob und vil glorie, // und nit mit schulden beladen heim kom-  
mind, // und wo sij abscheident, alweg ire gute testimo// nia von iren praecep-  
toribus nemmind und mit // inen heim bringind. hieruf zugend sij // hinweg am  
31 Augusti. //

Hans Iacob Brenualden halb so zu Basel, // ward fürgebracht, wie der herr von Stetten  
// zu Augspurg begärte sinen kinden etwas einen // gschicken glerten paedagogum,  
den er Eerlich halt // ten und imm Eerlich lonen welte, und das // vermeint das hans  
Jacob Brenwald darzu // tügenlich, ouch er und die sinen deß begärtind, ward Im  
sölichs erlaupt mit disen ge // dingen. 1. Das er das versuchen möchte, // und wo der  
dienst nit welte für inn sijn // das er sijn regreß wider haben solte so ferr // ger gute  
kuntschaft bringe das er sich wol // gehalten und erlich urloub genommen habe. //

2. So im aber der dienst gefellig, sölle // im das stipendium nit fürer gevolgen // diewijl  
er in eines anderen besoldung sige. // 3. Das man ouch gwalt zu im haben. // welle,  
inne widerum heim zemanen so es // unseren herren gefellig, und er denn zermal /  
minen herren zedienen schuldig sijn sölle // wor zu inn die selbigen ordnen wer //  
dent. Und als sölichs an die Gstipft // pfläger gelanget, und den 31 Augusti bestätet, ist  
er am 8 sept. dar von zogen. //

Er bleib nit lang, nam urloub, und // zog von dannen gen Marpurg, unn ward Im //  
sijn stipendium wider geordnet. //

[numbered] 52 [r]

Iodocus Husher ward ouch uff den tag // berupft und fûrgestlt, diewijl er heim berupft // von Basel, das er alhie flîßig studieren sölte, // das man inn weder inn den lâtzen noch predginen // funde, ouch sich an keinem gmâßen ordt an den // tisch verdingete, und in alweg nach vilvaltiger // vorgender warnung unflîßig und liederlich were, // und sich daran nût stieße, dess er nachmals // gar ernstlich vermanet sinen sachen anderist zethun, // mit heiterem anhang, wo sölchs fûrhin mee von // Im befunden, diewijl er uß dem nideren Colle // gio ovm frowenmünster sige, man sölchs unse // ren gnädigen herren den verordneten schulher // ren anzeigen werde. //

Und als Iohannes Steffanus der erst // Intendens gsin was aller deren so lut miner her // ren erkenntnuß die predginen hören söllend, und // er an die frömbde geschickt, ward Casparus Zur Linden nach Im geordnet. //

Mathias Bachofen so Inn dess oberen // Gstipfts Stipendio gsin, was vor etwas tagen selb // und unerloubt hinweg gezogen, welt mit den // schützen so upf eines schießen gen Wien wellen, // gen Wien ziihen, doch hat er zu Costany wider // kert und ist gen Bsael gezogen. Alda siner // halben erkennt, diewijl er selber urloub ge // nommen, das er urloub haben sölle, und ob // er sich mit der zijt nit wol halten, oder mi // nen herren nit dienen welte, sölle aller cost // so man mit Im gehalten lut unserer gnedigen // herren ordnung abgerechnet, und so er zu einem stand oder sonst etwas uberkente, // von im Ingezogen werden, halte er sich dann wol und Eerlich, und mit der zijt // wider komme, und von Inen dienst begäre, wellind mine herren aber gegen Im nach // irem gefallen Ir hand offen haben. //

[52v]

Den 2. Octobris //

Nach dem man hie vor uß etlicher glerten // von Basel schriben, hans rudolf Bigels // und Isaia weggers halben berichten, wie sij // unflîßig, und sich In etlichen sachen gar unge // pûrlich haltind, und doch vermeint das mit // vorgand schriben an sij gethan nit wenig ge // bracht habe, dess sij guter hofnung sigind sij // sich bas schicken werdint, undals sonst miner // herren der verordneten meinung was sij heim // zuberuffen und in strängerer Zucht und ghor // samme zehalten, sij aber gebâtten fûr sij, das // man sij noch ein zijtli da laen welle, ha // bend mine herren erkennt. 1. Inen den // glerten um ire trûw und muij zedancken. // 2. sij zebitten also fûr zefaren. 3. so // welle man sij um Irer pitt willen noch ein // zijtli dalaßen, hieneben aber sölte Inen // mit allem ernst gescriben werden, so bald // man üzid wijters ungepûrlichs von Inen ver // neme, welte man sij hiem gschicken, unn den // handel unseren gnedigen herren anzeigen, // unn sij laßen der selbigen straff erwarten. //

Und als sich die glerten ouch ab hans // wilhelmen Brenwalden klagtend, wie er // gar  
unflüßig, und sälen inn den lätzgen ge // sähen wurde, ward bevholet Ime glichs ze  
// schriben, ouch durch her Ludwigen Lafater // sinem Vatter her Josen ouch sölichs  
anzezeigen // das er ouch mit sinem ernstlichen schriben gegen im das best thete, wo  
es dann nüt bschüßen, sölle er heim berupft und Examinirt werden, unn so er nit  
tugenlich zu // der leer funden, gar geurloubet, und einer // so tugenlicher unn flüßiger  
sige, mit sinem // stipendio begabet werden. //

[numbered] 53 [r]

Den 29 Nouembris. //

Hans Hacob Brenwalden halb / dem hie // vor erlaupt was am 28 Augusti von Basel  
gen // Augspurg zeziehen, dem von stetten uff sijn begären mit der leer sinen kin-  
den zedienen, und aber er von siner unkumligkeit unn schwäre dess diests nit lang  
da gebliben, und // von dannen gen Marpurg zogen, ward für // gebracht, wei er dess  
stipendij wider begärte, und als man von meister Heinrich Bullinger // empfangen, hat  
man im das selbig wider be // williget und zugelassen. //

Hans Wilhelm Brenwalden halben ward // ouch gehandelt, diewijl ein schriben an  
Inn // gen Basel uß gheiß der schulherren getan, unn // aber die glerten den brief nach  
langem wider // hinupf schickend, mit anzeigung, das er nit zu Basel, unn sij nüt von  
Im wüßind, unn er vilicht hie were, was man der sach ubel zefriden, unn sölte her  
Ludwig Lafater mit sinem vatter reden, unn bericht bringen, damit man gegen Ime  
wüßte zehandlen. //

Abrahamm Hartmannus begärt uff den tag, wie dann sijn vatter hievor ouch // begärt,  
das diewijl er gesinnet minen herren un dder kilchen zedienen, das man im it // einem  
stipendio hilpf thun welte, damit er bij der leer bliben möchte, ward erkent, diewil  
die bed professores Latinus unn Grae // cus nit da werind das man von Inen verstan  
möchte, ob er sich der wuchen ouch mit anderen examinieren ließe, sölte sij darum  
begrat, un so es nit beschehen, sölle er besonders examiniert werden, das man sä //  
hen möge was er gstudiert, und nach //

[53v]

dem er funden, möge dann nach gepür in // sinen schen gehandelt werden. //

So ward ouch anbucho hernn Doctor Geß // ners lätzgen halben inn der philosophij,  
und ver // meint, das er mit der Ethica so er Jezunder // läse wenig nützes bij den

unseren schaffare, und möchte Physica der unseren und den frömbden mer dienstlich  
sijn. Diewijl aber er mit vil gschäpften beladen, were gut das // die zwen Jungen Doctores  
angestellt wur // dint, die physic In zwen wil abteilund // unn einer ein wuchen um  
die ander In si // nem Leib läse, damit sij sich uben, und // herren Doctor Geßneren  
so ietz mit der histo // ria stirpium zeschriben, und zont mit vil // gschäpften beladen  
were, ein zijt sij lätz // gen abnehmen möchtind Als aber // sölichs an hernn Doctor  
Geßner gelanget, hat er vermeint, Ime das gegen unseren gnädigen herren nachteilig  
sijn möchte, und er // sich in verdacht bringen würde, als ob er // sich gern der arbeit  
siner lätzgen entladen, // sin Canonicat vergäben haben, und die // arbeit upf ander  
wächten welte, zu dem so // irre Inn nit so vil Historia Stirpium die er // von 30 Jaren  
har habe angefangen zefamen // läsen, so habe er ouch keinem trucker noch nüt //  
dero halb versprochen, der Inn zenöten habe. // derhalben welle er sij lätzgen also  
fürfu // ren bis upf das Examen, so aber dann // etwas In bij sij unserer gnädigen  
herren // der schulherren von den rädten abgeradten // und erkennt worde, diewijl Im  
das selb // gegen nieman verwißlich, welle er Im ouch der selbigen meinung gefallen  
laßen, hie // mit hat man die sach also bruwen und bis da selbst hin anstan laßen. //

[numbered] 54 [r]

14 Decembris wurdent in linguis, artibus // und Theologia examiniert, // Uuolfgangus  
Rikenman, unn demnach // er ouch geprediget, ward er admtiert // Iodocus Husher,  
unn demnach er ouch gepre // diget, ward er admittiert. // Iohannes Osualdus Fäsi,  
und demnach er ouch geprediget, ward er admittiert. //

1564.

Den 13 Ianuarij. //

Abrahamus Hartman, als hievor den // 29 Novembris erkennt, ward upf disen tag ver //  
hört in linguis, Latina unn Graeca, und In den // anfangen der dialectic und Rhetoric,  
und als // er darinnen zimlich befunden, und er nun // mee alt, ward Im geordnet das  
mittlest sti // pendium am Gstipft die 20 gl, ein Jar die // sach mit Im zu versuchen,  
mit heiterem un // hang, das er alle lätzgen und die geordnete // predginen fließig be-  
suchen, In allen priuatis // examinibus der wuchen erschienen, kein un // gepürliche  
gsellschaftt haben, und in alweg // wie ein fließiger und ghorsammer studio // sus sich  
halten sölle. //

Den 19 Januarij //

Als voriger tagen M. hans Jacob bren // wald von Marpurg selber heimkommen, und  
// begürt von Studij Theologici wegen hie zu bliben, ward Im das upf disen tag ver //  
gunt, ouch er fürgestellt, un mit Im geredt // das er sich in alweg sölte als ein fließiger //  
ghorsammer studiosus und stipendiat schicken // und halten. //

[54v]

Und als Wilhelmi hönngers bäsi sich // erklagt das sij inn mit dem stipendio der // 20  
gl nit usbrigen möchte, und derhal // ben wijter hilf begärt, ward die sach an gstelt  
bis upf das examen, sines angewendte // flißes zugewaren, und demnach aber nach //  
gepür zehandlen. //

Den 21 Februarij //

ward gehandelt der knaben halben // so an der frömbde, und ward erkent // 1. das  
heim söltind berupft werden, felix // trüb und Jochim herter von Gempf, Zachari //  
as Schörli von Heidelberg, Johannes Huser // von Marpurg. 2. das Rodolphus // Käller,  
Christophorus Rüter, Abel Vuerdmüller und Iohannes Vuolfensperger zu mar // purg  
söltind bliben. 3. Isaias Vueggen, Hans rudolf Bigel und Leonhardus Hofmei // ster von  
Basel gen Genpf söltind zühen, veg // Johannes Steffanus aber Hans willhelm Brenuald  
// und Michael Heitz möchtind zu Basel bli // ben bis nach ostren, und so sij der erde  
// rung begären wurdint, möchte dann irer // halben aber geratschlaget werden. //

Examen und Censura der // knaben Juni 64 Jar. //

[numbered] 55 [r]

Den 10. 11. unn 12. Aprilis wurdent ge // halten die Examina der Schulen und im Lec //  
torio, und wurdent uß der oberen schul Inn // die publicas Lectiones geordnet, Rodol-  
phus Lemann, // Andreas Bek, unn Jacobus franck. //

uß der underen Schul aber, Rodolphus Wirt, // Rodolphus Dutwijler, Rodolphus  
Büler, Vuil // helm Hönnger, Hans David Nusperli, Hans ru // dolf haldenstein und  
Marcus Tobler. //

Die Censura der Knaben ward gehalt // ten am 13 Aprilis. unn Inn der selbigen von dem  
volgende stück gehadlet. //

Heinrichus Bog so am oberen Stipendio, // und im Examen vast unflüßig befunden,  
und // darzu stolz und hopfertig, und Inn der Censur // sich über Inn nechtlichs us-  
loupfen und ande // re ding befunden, ward In bij sijn her Vui // ken in der oberen  
schul mit der ruten Ze // straffen unn zedemutigen erkent //

Samuel Fattli, Rodolphus Bräm und // Jacobus Pfrunder zum frowenmunster, so et  
// wan erdachte urlouben genommen und nachts // um die gaßen gezogen, wurdent  
irem pa // dagogo her Samuel Pellicanen ouch mit der // ruten zestrappen bevholen. //

Melchior Rieder so in her bruggers // Stipendio, als sich uff im ouch nechtlichs  
um // loupfen, und ein fräfel gegen einen bader // knecht unn anders befunden, ward  
gespart bis // upf die gmein Censur, bij deren die ober // sten schulherren von einem

Eersammen radt // sijn wurdint, von denen ward er dem // nach zwen tag und zwo  
necht inn den kuttel turn erkennt, unn hiemit sölte er ge // warnet sijn mit söllichen  
sachen niemer mee // zekommen, oder er mußte endtlicher urloub erwarten. //

[55v]

Georgius Käller so am almusen, aber niemer zur schul kumpt unn gar unflüßig ist, // Ia-  
cobus häsli, so kein gut gspräch und // zur leer ganz untugenlich geachtet. // Mathens  
Fries so ouch gar kein Ingeni // um und neigung zum studieren, unn doch lang // im  
almusen erhaltten, söllend mit des al // musens pflägereen willen geurloubet, und //  
anders flüßige knaben an die statt genommen // werden, unn diewijl her wick der kna  
// ben am almusen ufsäher, sol er gegen // der knaben elteren und fründen, und ma //  
the friesen halben gegen den pflägereen am // almusen verschapffen, das die knaben  
sonst // versähen, und mathe fries von Inen zu // einem hantwerk gefürderet werde. //

Censura Generalis //

Den 16 Aprilis ward die algmein Cen // sura gehalten aller herren, der Läseren, // schul-  
meisternen, prouisoren, und aller deren so // inn der schul arbeitend, und warend die //  
schulherren von einem Eersammen radt ouch // die anderen herren zu der leer geord-  
net, bas // wol zefriden //

Demnach wurdent folgende stuck wij // ter darinnen gehandelt //

Erstlich diewijl es sich vil begipt, das // die Collaboratores inn der schul, von etli //  
chen anderen zepredigen angestellt werdent, unn dadurch dann Ire Claßes versumpt  
und die // stunden nit gehalten werdent, ouch sich etliche // studiosi unn stipendi-  
aten so glichs von den // selbigen Collaboratoribus gebätten werdent // sij zu versähen,  
sparend und es nit thun // wellend, ist abgeredt, das so sich für // hin ein sölicher fal  
zutragen würde, das // einer zepredigen angestellt würde dadurch er zijt unn nothalb  
die schul versumen mußte, //

[numbered] 56 [r]

Das der selbig Collaborator das angends sinem // schulmeister anzeigen sölle, der  
selbig sol Im // einen Studiosum oder Stipendiaten ernennen, mit dem er die selbig  
Classen achten mag wol ver // sähen sijn, zu dem sol der Collaborator gan // unn imm  
anzeigen das er Inn versähen sölle, // unn ob er sich on redlich ursach dess weeren //  
würde, sol der selbig einem schulherren ge // leidet, und nach siner ungehorsamme  
mit Im // gehandelt werden //



Diewijl ouch In voriger Censur abge // redt, ein gute Grammaticam für die meere // ren  
Inn die schul zeordnen, das Dominus Sebast. // Guldinbek nochmals gebätten unn im  
angehalt // ten werde sölichs zeordnen. //

Und als Rieders Handel unn fräfel // an die schulherren gelanget, ward er inn // den  
kuttelturn erkennt zwen tag und zwo // necht (als vorstat) darinn zebußen. //

Und als M. Heinrich Thoman vogt // zu kijburg ein fürgschripft von einer kna // ben  
Osualden Groben wegen an gmeine // schulherren gethan, ward die selbig verlä // sen,  
und gmeinlich erkennt, das man den selbigen knaben versähen söltte aller erst er sijn  
möchte. //

Und diewijl es im 1563 Jar von unseren gnedigen herren den Schulherren // erlout  
was vom frowenmünster uß dem Collegio drij knaben an die frömbde zeschi // cken,  
unn aber der ratschlag domals wi // der geenderet, unn vermeint ward weger // zwijn  
noch ein Jar zu verziihen, diewijl et // liche nadere ouch erwachsen unn geschickt //  
werind, ward diss tags erkennt, das die drij knaben so vorn ernempt unn geordnet //  
namlich, Samuel fattli, Joseph Breitwäg //

[56v]

vnn hans heinrich wirt, unn ietz mit inen // Josue Wäkerling unn Johannes Großman,  
// an die frömbde söltind geschicht, unn an // ire plätz unseren gnedigen herren wide-  
rum // andere fürgeschlagen werden. //

Unn als ein Collaborator in der oberen // schul Uuolfgangus Rikenman abgangen //  
unn gen Wangen geordnet, ward Johannes // Osualdus fäsi an sijn statt inn die schul  
genommen. //

Und nach allem diesem, als ich min Jar // usgedienet, ward her Josias Simler // zu ei-  
nem schulherren dess künftigen Jars // erwelt und geordnet. //

## School Minutes, Compiled by Josias Simmler (1564–1566)

See website: School Minutes, Text (B): (5) Josias Simmler (1564–1566) (Transcription ASG)

[numbered] 64 [r]

Acta der schulherren by verwaltung // Josiae Simleri anno 1564 //

Aprilis 26. Alß von unseren gnadigen herren ... den // 16 aprilis in gmeiner Censur bewilliget worden ettliche // knaben von dem frawenmünster gen wandlen zu schicken // und benamset wurdent Samuel fattlin, Josue Vuaekerling, Hans // heinrich wirt, Joseph Breitenwaeg, Hanß Großman, hatt man // geordnet daß Samuel Fattli und Josue Vuaekerling gen bern // und di übrigen dry gen Losanna zügind, und sol... sij kommen, // diavon gen bern herr hansen haller gen Losanna herr Blasio // Marcuardo und den selbigen ir gelt zuschiken, welches auch // von mir beschahen ist. //

Und diewil man ir statt fünff andere hatt sollen nemmen sind // dise hienach benempten fünfzehen knaben fürgeschlagen // Osual grob Jörg groben saeligen von atiken sun, welcher von // herren vogt von kiburg minen herren beuolen, und hiauor in die // Censur erkent fürgeschlagen sin. //

Rodolphus Dutwiler // Joannes Zubler // Rodolphus Guarb // Rodolphus Notz // Vuilhelmus Hoengger // Hanß David Nüsperlin // Hanß Heinrich Locher // Joachim Müller // Joahannes Hürli // David Zindal // Felix Muggler // Marcus Noetzlin // Heinrich Schmidlin // Osuald Renner //

[64v]

Eß sind auch in disem fürschatz sonderlich benamset werden // Sadrach thoman und Heinrich Häginer, alß man aber verstunden // daß iren altwan sölichs nitt begaerend und lieber wollend // daß man inen ein anderen weg befolhen syge fast man // deshalb sy ußgäloßen //

29 Aprilis ist diser fürschatz unseren gnedigen Herren burgermeister und räten fürbracht und sind erwelt dise // fünff Rodolphus Dutwiler // Hans David Nüsperlin // Felix Muggler // Heinrich Schmidlin //

8 Maij sind die fünf so hand sollen wandlen // fürgstelt und vermant daß sy flüßig studierend, iren // praeceptoribus gehorsam sygind, züchtig und erbar sich halten //

und kein geltschulden machind, Nach disem sind sy // dan 10 tag Maiens hinweg gezo-  
gen, //

Eß ist auch domalen bewilliget M Hanß Jacob brennwald daß er möge gen Losan-  
nen zühen und solle aber immer // harren dienl. gspannenstan und last man imm ...  
man // daß stipendium folgen. //

Man hatt auch geordnet daß Caspar zur Linden und Ha... // Vogler sollind ein fließig  
uffsehen uff die knaben so in predginen gand, und die knaben abermals verman...//  
daß sy die predigen fließig besuchind, //

28 Junij kort für mine herren fortunatus // Stdelman uß dem Turgauw so in zit lang  
hie gesucht // hatt und by M. Rudolfen Collino imm tisch gesin ... //

[numbered] 65 [r]

und begart daß man im geschriben testimonium oder // kundschaftt gäbe, und diewil  
er fließig und züchtig gsin // ward imm sölichs vergunt, doch damitt er sölichs nitt //  
mißbruchte ward mir bevolen daß ich underscheidenlich // ime als innes studioso und  
nitt alß imem ministro // ein kundschaftt gabe welches ich auch chon fus //

dazumalen bracht ich an unn Wilhelm Hoengger // welicher einer hilff und beßer-  
ung begaert, dann siner bas man // zu schwaer syge ime by disem stipendio zu er-  
halten, alß // man aber varstanden daß er imm studieren liederlich und // unfließig ist  
imm solichs abgeschlagen //

10 Augusti Han ich Heinrichen bagen begaer anzeigt, welicher // sin stipendium  
begart uffzusagen und mitt dar herren bewilligung // in die pfaltz zuziehen und da der  
kilchen zudienen, daruff // ist imm geantwortet man koenne imm sölichs nitt bewil-  
ligen //darum daß er noch iung auch sonst nitt so gschickt daß er // inner kilchen möge  
vorstan darum solle er sich nitt underston // daß imm zuschwoer syge, darzu diewil  
ietz die pestilenz // da regiere könne man inne nitt raaten daß er dahin // zühet dan er  
da frömd syge und waß imme da zu fiele // wurde er niemant han der inne so wol als  
dahin wartete // eß sind, auch dise und andere ursachen sinem vatter // auch angezeigt,  
und imm geraaten er solle blibe biß uff // Osteren und demnach wider für mine herren  
kommen // Uff sölich antwort hatt er bald harnach <in> mitt deß // vatters bewilligung  
ein wib genommen und ist mitt der // selbigen gen heidelberg zogen. //

Also auch do maß Caspar zur Linden und ettliche dar // eltisten stipendiaten be-  
gärtend gan wandlen gefürderet // werden und ich sölichs anbracht ist inen die ant-  
wort //

[65v]

worden, man wolet inen gern zu willen werden als // diewil es allenthalben in tüt-  
schem land gar bas\* komme // man sy ietz nieman hin schiken so aber gnad gott sin //  
gnad gaeba daß uff die ußtagen der sarbat\* uffhoere // welle man sy hinweg schiken //

demnach alß Marzen Widlars, der ietz zu Genff studiert, verwante und vogt. // begartend daß man inn inn miner herren stipendium // annaem, diewil er sich hie wol gehalten im // gut ingenium habe und alwaegen flißig gsin byge // daruff ist erkent daß man Genevam // schriba und da von sinen praeceptoribus kundschaftt // innema wie er sich, und demnach die sach wider // anbrigege. //

Witer ist domalen in miner herren stipendium // angnommen M Hanß Frieß der inngar daß ime // alle fronfasten 22 [Pfund] wardind Ess auch verwilliget Esaias Vueggero und Joanni Rodolpho Bygelio daß // sy heim kommind von Genff. Und Leonhardo Hoffmeister // daß er von Basel gen Losanna zühe. //

22 Augusti als Mathia // Bachofens vatter begärt daß man ime sinem son das // stipendium welte widergeben, alß man sinethalben // kundschaftt von basel empfangen hatt man in angn\* // in daß höchst so die hand die noch nitt wandlend // namlich 25 gl so er erbar sich wol haltet möge er // in einem iar oder halben um bekerung wider furke... // witer alß Rudolff Käller der grichtschrifer begaert // daß sin son von Marpurgen heim berufft wurde, dan im // der kosten zu schwaer syge ist imme soliche verwillige //

[numbered] 66 [r]

diewil aber Casparus zur Linden und Joannes Vlgoer sich // klagtend daß sy mitt dem stipendio kum den tisch bezalen // möchtend und aber darzu buechar und kleider haben // müßtend, ist sölichs an die pflaeger deß gstifts gewisen // daß sy extra ordinem inen etwas hilff bewisend in ansehen // daß sy bad alzit flißig und gehorsam gsin //

Und als Joannes Hüser so daß almusen hatt auch etwas / hilff begärt ist erkent daß har Wolfgang Haller und herr // Hanß Jacob Vuik zu dem herren burgermeister von Cham // gangind und erkundigind ob das stipendium dar 10 fl so herr Obman zu den barfuseren Jos bosharten gibt uff // in allein dienn, oder ob man an sin statt (dans er gen // Heidelberg zogen waß) und siner dry gfallen hernach // anderer nammen möge, und so sölichs bewilliget werde // syge Hüßer schon angnom. Alß sölichs hatt sollen // außgericht werden und der herr abwesend gsin ist, ist // Hüßer gen Pariß zogen.//

Es ist auch furbracht daß Petrus Tarnovius Polonus // begart zu entlenen 40 taler uff im hand gschrift so er von siner kilchen in deren stipendio er ist, als nun // sölichs anbracht ist die sach minen herren burgermeister // Müller und herr Sekelmeister Sprüngli entzeit. 1 und hatt //man Felix Trüben und Joachim Herter gefragt die // anzeigt hand daß der minister so dis: handschrift // unterschriben offft Caluino geschriben als sy mitt dem // Tarnovio zu Genff gsin, so habe auch Tarnovius do // ine gelt glihen alß inen ir stipendium nitt kommen, // und anders mee anzeigt daß man achtet kein trug da sin daruff man imm dann di saß // gelt gelihen, in ansehen daß man andersschwou auch // unseren studenten glichs thut

[66v]

5 Octobris ist an Heirnich Bogan statt in daß stipen, // dium der 20 fl ingstelt Conrad Pellican Herr Samuel // Pellicani säligen son, in ansähen sines vatters sälig // und daß die muter bas mitt den kinde möga // hußhalten. //

Uff den selben tag sind angnon von nüwen Hans // Zublar und Rodolphy Körner und Jacobij Hinßgarter, // doch ist dem lettsten angehenkt diewil etwan // bishar klegt gsin daß er tardus syga oder unflüßig // sol er sich beßeren dan man welle eß mitt imm // allein versuchen. //

Eß hatt auch Zacharias Monetus von Genff ein kund=// schafft begart die imm gae-ben ist //

Und alß brieff von Genff kommen in welichen Doctor Sarrarang und Carolus Jomit-us Mario Widlaro // gar im gute kundschaft gebend ist er hieruff in das // stipendium der 40 fl angenommen. //

Als herr Samuel Pellican Schulmeister zu dem // frauwenmünster mitt tod abgan-gen ist im // fürsclag beschaehen und sind genampset herr // Doctor Jorg Keller M Theodorus Collinus und Herr Josue Vinßler und hand unser gnadig herren gewalt M Theodorum Collinum, iund alß auch gestorben was uß den knaben im haff // Heinrich Schmidlin sind unseren herren fürgeschlagen die so in dam vorigen fürsclag gsin war- end // und hand unser herren erwelt Osualdum // Renner. //

[numbered] 67 [r]

9 Decembris ... Als Herr hans Caspar Göldlin pfarrer // worden ist gen Dietikon ist an sin statt gewalet // zu sinem Lectora 3 classis Felix Trüb. Und in der // underen schul ist im 2 classam geordnet Joannes Husarus // und als er bald harnach zu dem herren von Sax geschickt ist // hatt man an sin statt gewelet Esaiam Weggerum // Eß sind auch damals fürgstelt Joannes Stephanus // Michael Heintz Josua Waekerling Rodolphus Cellarius // Joannes Rodolphus Bygelig Esaias Vuegger, hand // ir testimonia ingeleit sind gefraget wen Lectionibus // von schulden ac und vermanet daß sy lectiones sacras // und predigen flüßig hurind, daß sy kleider machind // die inen zimmind, daß sy ein erbaren wandel fürind // das sy ab zalind was sy noch schuldig, diewil // aber Samuel fattli zu bärn gestorben und 18 kronen // schuldig bliben und aber sin vatter sölichs nitt vermag zu // bezalen ist bevolen herr haller daß er zum herren // burgermeister von Cham und mir daß ich zu dem // herr sekelmeister Sprünglin gangind und man die sach // anzeigind ob mine herren daß best thetind, dan man nitt // wol kan die bider-ben lüt verlieren laßen die imm // in ansehen miner herren deren stipendiaten er gsin ist, // Es ist auch domals abgeradt daß man im insahen thüis // wie man es fürkomme

daß sy fürhin nitt so wil // schulden machind, und die minen herren und dem gstift // nitt uffgeladen werdind. //

Diewil klag daß die knaben unflüßig besuchind die predigen // am Donstag und Zinstiag ist herr hans Wolfen und mir bevolen // daß man inen die ordnung miner herren vorlaesn // und si ernstlich vermane die predigen inen //

[67v]

uffgelait zu besuchen, sölichs hand wir uff // folgenden Montag ußgerichtet //

Anno 1565 //

7 Januarij ist herr M Theodorus Collinus fürgstalt und // ingsatz in bysin herren Burgermeister Müllers und herren // Sekelmeisters Sprünglin auch herr Obman köchlin sampt // den predicanten und Leesarn, und sind da in bisin des // schulmeisters und der knaben die leges collegij fürglä // wie sich der schulmeister und auch die knaben halten // sollind, und ist erkent daß man alle iar in der // censur zu dem frauenmünster söliche satzungen // verläsen solle, demnach hatt man die knaben // ernstlich vermant daß nitt müßig sigind oder spacerind uff dem kilchoff bruggen helmhuß // daß sy zu battgeloggen imm huß sygind, daß sy lezgen // und predigen schulind, daß sy der kleideren // vermügt sygind so in der obman macht, und man kein // nachlaßen daß er uß dem sinen etwas besonders // und koestlichers dan die anderen mache //

Es ist auch abgeredt daß man der kleidung halb // ein ordnung mache und die selbig dem obman gebe. //

Es ist auch damals ein betrachtung beschæhen wie imm zu // fürkommen daß der studenten schulden nitt unseren herren // uffgeladen werdind, und ist abgeredt daß fürhin keiner // gen wandlen geschikt were er stelle dan zween // bürgen, und ist sölichs für unser g.h. bracht bestaetet // und sind zwo erkantnußen geschriben und eine gaeb // herr vuolfgang haller die ander dem Obman köchlin //

[numbered] 68 [r]

Es sind auch für gestalt Josua Vuaekerling und Joannes Stephanus der schulden halb gefragt und beschulten, auch // bevolen die selben zu bezalen, und daß man söliche herr // hansen Vuaekerling Josuas Vatter anzeige. Es ist // auch daß Fättlins halb vil geredt und auch minem // herren von Cham anzeigt und bewilliget daß der Obman // sin schuld bezale. //

11 Januarij Sind in artibus und linguis examiniert worden // Joachimus Herterus Rodolphus cellarius J. Rodolphus Bygelius // Michael Heintzig Esaias Vueggerus Joannes Stephanus // Josua Vuakerling Examinarunt nos Sebastianus Guldebecius // in Latina

lingua Collinus in Graeca. Ammianus in Dialecti // et Rhetoricis praeceptis censura iras examians ist gespart uff // den künfftigen zinstag da hatt man sij in theologia examiniert // und sind fünf zugelaßen aber Michael Heintz und Joannes Steffanus sind hinder sich gestelt biß uff Osteren daß man // etliche fragen an sy thuge und sy noch ninist\* predigind //

Man hatt geordnet zu einem lectore 1 classis ludi inferioris // Josuam Vuaeckerling 1 und 2 classis superioris ludi Rodolphus // Cellarium. //

13 Januarij Als ettlich knaben imm almusen abgangen // so daß mus und die zween schilling gehept hand sind // angnom in der oberen schul Jacobus Vinsler // Nicolaus Vvüst Hanss heinrich schwirzer Isaac Menninger In der underen schul // Bartolomeus Bachman Andreas Zollinger // Joannes Schaedlar. So sind angnon daß man im iar // 80 fl werdend von dem Obman zu den barfuseren //

[numbered] 69 [v]

Huldricus Notz Heinricus Buman, und ist // Joachimus Mörikhofer angnon in herr Bruggers // stipendium //

12 Martij. Ist ein frag gehalten um den knaben so // an der froemde sind und wardint heimberüft Jacobus // Seuter von Losanna Joannes Wolfensperger und // Vuilhelmus Brenwald von Heidelberg. So sollent // zu basel bliben Hans Heinrich Wirz Joseph Breitwaeg // Johannes Großman. So sollent gen Heidelberg ziihen // Ioannes Steiner und Leonhardus Hoffmeister

Es ist auch bewilliget daß dise sache von dem gstift hinweg geschickt werdind  
Caspar zur Linden

die zween sollent ziihen gen Marpurg

Rudolf Vuirt

Melchar Rieder gen bern

Batt Felix Müller gen Losanna

Heinrich Steiner

Gen Genff so ir vatter den kosten han wend...

Abraham Hartman

19 Martij Ist abermals ghandlet der knaben halb und ist // erlaupet Hanss Jacob Friesengen Heidelberg zu ziehen //

Christophoro Rüter gen Tübingen //

Als auch Vuilhelm Hoengger begaert gefürderet werde // gen wandlen diewil er ietz imlichen alters und sine // aquales hinwas geschickt werden, ist imm geantwortet // ersyge vorhin offt von unflijss wegen geschulten worden // wen er flißig syge werde er gefürderet und gvolcht // hinweg geschickt so man mee knaben schickt /

Diewil auch zu dem frowenmünster ettliche flißige // knaben lang lectiones publicas gehört habend, ist mir bevolen an herren Burgermeister und Sekelmeister //

[numbered] 71 [r]

Witer ist in den Censura bevolen herren Collino vuolfio // Vicio funcio und mir daß wie ein ratschlag stellind was // für authores in der schul zulesen sygind daruff sind wir // den morndrigen tag zusammen kommen und achtend // daß es nutzlich were so man diss authores laese //

In des schulmeisters letzgen //

VI a Oraciones Isocratis et Hesiodi opera ad dies //

VIII a Primis diebus septimanae legat epistolas Ciceronis bid ... // examines epistolas ... examina //

XII a Legat Caesaris ... et alternis annis // Virgilij Georgica et Horatium //

III a Rudimenta dialecticae et rhetoricae legat his addat aliquem // dialogum Ciceronis De Senectute Amicitia Item Orationem // Pro Archia Paradoxa //

In des Prouisors letzgen //

VI a Graecum testamentum Epigrammata selecta Grammaticam // VIII a Legat Salustium Examinet Epistolas vide\* etiam utila\* // ut biduo in septimana legat epistolas Ciceronis. //

I a Vergilij Aeneidos lib. Percurrat et iam unum aut alterum // librum Metamorphoseon Ouidij. //

III a Legat Prosodiam Syntaxin Tropos, per // mediam horam, <den> addat his Terentium. //

Es ist auch damals geratschlaget da im schulmeister // widerumm die stund umm die achte in die schul ginge // der Latinischen Grammatic ist die sach herren Collino // bevolen der sol besichtigen ob Philippi Melanchtonis // Grammatica in der schul zu lasen syge der hatt antzeigt //

[71v]

daß es beschowet hab Melanchtonis grammaticam auch // a Camarario et Myrillo die sie gar lang und bedunk... // im sy syge mee für die schulmeister dan für die // knaben, und so man glich Philippi die // kurtzer leesen wolt hatte man ietz angends keine // exemplaria deßhalb ist abgeredt daß man dises / Iar Donatu cum Glaream additionibus solle befelt // daszwüschten volgen man sich umsahen und vor dem // examine zusammen kömen damit waß für ein // Grammatic den herren gfele daselbig upf das // examen exemplaria funden wur...t, //



Es ist auch uff sampstag frag gehalten de exercitij // Latinae linguae der knaben so da hoerant publicas lectio // nes, dann sy ein iar innist declamierend das zu // wenig ist, daruff ist abgeredt daß etlich werdint // geordnet die alle wuchen von einem ieden ein experi // ment forderind und inen die selbigen emendiert // und sind geordnet M. burkart Leeman und ich //

Sexta Maij ist die gmein Censura Professorum, // Ludimagistri et Adiutorum uff der sulenn gehalten und // ist arg angesehen daß ein schulherr fürhin solle daß // ampt zwei iar versehen und bin ich also uff dass iar bestatet

Eß ist auch Wilhelmen Höngger uff sin vilfaltig // begar erlaup gen bern zu ziihen. //

19 Augusti ist die Censur zu dem frowenmünster // gehalten und hatt man die knaben ganz ernstlich // gheißn zu den geordneten predigen gon und in den // selbigen schriben, auch sich zu bettleggen laßin dahinn // finden dem schulmeister gehorsam sin, flißig und // gotts förchtig sin Mitt dem schulmeister hatt man gredt //

[numbered] 71a [r]

zulasen ob sy bewilligind ettliche hinweg zuschiken // diewil sy sunst siben oder acht ubar die 15 hand. //

24 Martij zeigt ich daß herr burgermeister Müller // und herr sekelmeister Sprünglin als schulherren hettind // bewilliget zween von dem frauwenmünster gen wandlen // zu schiken 1 daruff hatt man geordnet daß Jacobus // Keretz ziihe mitt den anderen gen Marpurg und // Rodolphus Bram gen basel den solle man befallen ... // Battmanns und Hospinianus daß sy flißig uffsehen uff // in habind //

Diewil auch Batt Felix Müller sich erklagt daß es zu // Losanna thür war und er wenig hilff von sine vatter // hoffen möchte hatt man in geheißen mitt Melcher Rieder // gen bern zühen. //

Des wilhelm Hönggers halb ist aber anbracht daß man // ime erlaube by dem stipendio der 25 fl zu wandlen // so wellind sind fründ den ubrigen costen wagen, daruff // ist imm geantwortet er so habe noch nie in publico examine // geantwortet, er solle blibe und in dem examine // erschine dan moege er aber furk...e so welind // mine herren ir hand offen han. Sine fründ klagind // sich stets daß kostens dan sy hie mitt imm habind wie woltind sy in dan an der frowen daß mee // kostet erhalten //

Alß auch Jacob kneul begaert gen wandlen ist imm // anzeigt unsere hereren habind erlangt ... // zwaan von dem frauwenmünster hinweg zu schiken // nun syge er bißhar liederlich und ungehorsam gsin // darumm koenne man in nitt schiken //

Es sind auch die 6 vom oberen gstiff fürgstalt und // hatt sy vermant nach gmeinem bruch etc. //

2 Aprilis Als zu dem frawenmünster zween gen // wandlen gschickt und hans David Nüsperlin mitt ... // abgangen daß also dry seind ledig hatt man dise // nachbenempte personen fürgschlagen //

Rudolff Gwerb	Hans Zubler //
Osuald Grob	Joachim Müller //
Marcus Noetzzlin	Rudolf Notz //
Heinrich Buman	Rudolf Vogler //
Hans Vuerdmüller	Jacob Vinsler //
Felix Vuiß	Jacob Dietrich //
Heinrich Ziegler	Hans Heinrich Forster //

Us diser zal hund unsere predigen harren angenommen // Rudolf Gwerben Hanß Zubler und Heinrich // Ziegler //

12 Aprilis Als sich ett waßs spans zutrait zwüschend // dem paedagogo zu dem frauenmünster und sinem // discipulo Jacoben Kneulen sind sy bad auch deß kerend // vatter uff der chorherren stuben verhort in by sin herren // burgermeisters und Sekelmeisters ... und also kerenb ... // daß der schulmeister getrennt sinen sun mitt meere // uß dem hoff zubringen, in auch ungütlich beschuldig // alß ob er zu dietiken sy ge trunken gsin, da est in // by in behalten und gheißen mitt imm trinken, und // hinweder der zuchtmeister anzeigt daß er uß sin // ampts pflicht mitt imm gredt in gstrafft und imm // anzeigt wo er sich mitt bessere were er noch in // waaren uß dem ... können, und auch wi // in bezüget das trunkenheit ungehorsame und // fiache et hand nach lanem verhören das varor //

[numbered] 72 [r]

so die knaben straffwirdig sygind solle er die selbigen // straffen, und nit erst vil mitt inen arguieren warum // sy zu straffen sygind sonder den satzungen nach gen, item // daß er die predigen besuche, nun knaben ire scripta erfor, // dare, zu bettglaggen daß daß huß beschließen und in bysin der knaben nitt urteile non den profeßoribus oder ministris

Es sind dazumal in bysin unser glerren gen wandlen // geordnet Georgius Ottli Jacobus pfrunder und Jacobus kneul, und als Rodolphus Leemannus auch begart // zu wandlen und sineß flißeß halb gerümpft ward // aber die zal deren so 40 fl habend groß waß hatt // daß man unser g. herren nitt witer döfen beschworen // ist abgeredt, so die zal gemindert und etlich uff dienst // kommind daß er dan gefürdert werde. //

Witer ist erkennt daß von bern heimberüfft werdindt // Beatus Felix Müller, M. Rieder, Wilhelmus Hoengger, und // diewil man gehört daß si sich ubel haltind, und wilhelm // höngger zu bern von herren in gefengnuß gelegt worde // syhe, ist herren wolfgang haller und mir bevolen gen // bern zu schriben und alle sachen zu erkundigen. //

22 Augusti sind zu wandlen geordnet von dem // oberen gstift Marcus tobler und Iohannes Rudolphus // Haldenstein, und sind sampt denen zu dem Frauenmünster // fürgstelt, und, mitt Iacobo pfrunder und Georgio Ottlin // gen basel geschickt, Jacobus kneul sol gen heidelberg // ziihen, Rudolpho Graem ist erlaubt gen Marpurz ziihen // Fridlin wirt ist es heimgesetzt ob er sin sun zu basel // laßen oder witer schiken welle Eß auch erkennt daß // uff dise Herpstmaß sollind heimberüfft werden // Abel erdmüller, Wilhelm // brenwald, Christophorus Rüter, Joannes Steiner //

[72v]

Leonhardus Hoffmeister Joannes Großman und // Josephus Breitwaeg. //

Alß die dry von bern heimkommen und sich wilhelmen // hoenggers trunkenheit und ungeschikts befunden // und daß imm die andere geholfen und mitt lüger wellt // helfen sin ungeschiktes wesen wurdeken, ist wilhel // mus hönnger Batt Felix Müller und Melchior Rieder // daß stipendij entsetzt uff unser herren gnad. //

uff sölichs sind wilhelm hönnger und batt Felix gen // basel zogen als aber die iren harnach battend // sy widerum zubegnaden, ist geantwortet sy diewil // sy noch hie gsin habind sich übel gehalten zu nacht mit // den luten uff der gaßen umherzogen, und da sy soltend // sich flißig erzeigt haben sigind si gen basel zogen // möge man nütt wüßen wie sy sich haltind darumm // komme man si nit nit begnaden. //

In disem hatt H Hans stienbrüchels magt so schwanger // gewäsen wilhelm hönnger so by H steinbrüchel // zu tisch gangen ir kind als dem rechten vatter by dem rid geben, darum us er nach lut der satzungen // sineß urlaubens bestätzt uff ein nüws. //

batt Felix Müller ist heimkommen und alß imm ein kirchen dienst imm Turgow zugesagt so er von minen // herren kundtschafft bracht ist er fürkert und im // kundtschafft und abscheid begaert, sölichs ist imm // abgeschlagen, dan do wir inn nitt tugentlich // achtend sie zum kichendienst zu bruchen kommint // wir inn nitt uff andere kirchendienst fürderen // uff soalichs ist er minem herren burgermeister // nachgeloffen, und alß h burgermeister Müller // in bisin h josan brenwalden sineß fürmünders mich // hieß inn dise kundtschafft geben wie und //

[numbered] 73 [r]

zur leer erkennt daß zu dem ersten mitt dem schulmeister // geredt und imm anzeigt daß er fürhin den knaben nitt erlauben daß gleit so wyt zugeben und sich in // zethan setzen, demnach auch daß er mitt ansehen und // ernst gegen inen handle so sy straff wirdig sind und // nitt erst vil mitt inen arguiere Demnach ist // auch Jacob kneul mitt sinem vatter fürgstelt und // hatt in min herr burgermeister ernstlich mitt worten // gstrafft, und darnach zweien knechten bevolen daß sy // inn nemmind und inn den wellenberg fürind da solle // er ligen biß uff Sampstag //

## Examen und Censura //

Uff den lettsten tag Aprellens und den ersten mit ordenen // tag Meiens sind die examina gehalten und sint uß der // oberen schul in publicas lectiones promouiert //

Adamus Vueker	Johannes Tarer //
Samuel Hochholtzer	Rudolfus Guarb //
Stephanus Aeberlin	Hanß Heinrich Locher //

In der underen schul sind keine promoviert dommal sy // glich wol hattend geantwortet hattend si nütt gehört // Rudimenta Dialecticae und Rhetoricae doch hatt inenn inen // Die hoffnung uffthon so sy in irem fliß beharrind // sollind sy imm herpst gefördert werden. //

3 Maij ist gehalten Censura der knaben und ward anzeigt von Hanß Otten daß er tardi ingenij und eines // bösen gespraechs, da hatt man bevolen M Burkart Leeman // und mir mitt siner muter zuraden daß man in zu // einem handwerk fündere diewil er zu der leer // ungeschikt damitt er nitt versumt wurde, // Jacobus Haßlin hatt im böß gespräch sollend Haller // und ich sinem vatter anzeigen daß er die pflaeger des // almusens ansuche daß sy inn zu einem handwerk // verdingind //

Hans Heinrich Schweitzer ist unflüßig kybig, schwer // über sol vittig mitt siner muter und mitt dem pflägeren reden daß man in zu einem handwerk thüe. //

Heinrich Jaeger hatt schlecht geantwortet imm examine // hatt eben im Ke...lan mitt muß und ein stuck brott muß // dienen dan lüten daß er zu eßsen haben, sol man ... // mitt dem obman ob imm geholffen wurde //

Hans Huber ist untugenlich zu der leer herr hans // Jacob Vuik sol es Heinrich Huber sinem vetter anzeigen // Caspar Fattlins knaben hand daß muß nitt als // schuler sind meisterloß ungeschikt verlegen kipp // gern sol anzeigt ward den pflageren bei herr // Sekelmeister sprünglin damitt sy nitt hernach d // schul uffbunden werdend //

Hans schaedler ist fürgstelt und vermant daß er sy // flüßiger dan bißshar Herr Rudolff funk sol mitt ... // elteren raden daß sy in zu der schul funderind mitt // abfühind wie bißshar wellind sy daß er gefürd // werde //

Felix Zimmerman ist ungeschikt zur laar Herr Vui // und Funk sollends dan pflaegeren anzeigen // Marz Noetzlin und Hanß Vuerdmüller Hand an ir // flyß nachgelaßen sollend vom schulmeister vermant // werden daß sy sich beßerind //

[numbered] 73a [r]

warum er geurlaubet syge hab ich es gethan, aber // er hatt sölthe kundtschafft nitt brucht // Melchior Rieder hatt sich fill gehalten und die letzgen // und predigen flüßig gehört daruff ist er als er ein // frowfast still gestanden widerum in daß stipendium uffgnon //

1566//

Alß herr Theodorus Collinus sich erklagt daß er // by der besoldung zu dem frauenmünster nitt besten // möget auch sine rechnung memens und ußgebens // inleit, ist bevolen herren Rudolphen Waltern // und mir söliche rechnung eigentlich geordneten und // dan witter in der such zu handeln, alß wir // unsers bedunkens insaß mangels in der rechnung // funden und uns bedunkt der bruch gnug groß fu // nitt man volk syge hand ir in berüfft und imm // sonlichs anzeigt, als er aber gegärt sölich // rechnung fürzu treit werden hab ich sölichs // gethon, als nun vil darzu geredt und nitt gutt // geachtet ward umso g. herren umm ein beßerung // anzulangen die sonst großen kosten mitt disem //

[73av]

collegio habend, und achtet man gut sin wann // M Joder möchte kommlich geendert werden im // mitt einem eerlichen Dienst versähen, und als anzeigt // wird es werer etwas nach imes rasch halber // zwüschend Johanna Bbierbruer von Höng und m joder // gehalten, ward uns bevolen sölichem nachgefragen // alß aber Joannas bierbruer des ruschs zufriden // waar aber M Joder imm den gar nitt gefallen lie... // ist die sach also bliben ruwen dismal //

2. Martij sind zu dem frauenmünster gen wandlen // geordnet Rodolphus Leeman Rodolphus Dutwiler // und Joannes Durer //

27 Martij sind an deren statt so gen wandlen geschickt // von unseren gnedigen herren gewelt worden // Osualdus Grob Iodocus Lindower Marc Notzlin // Auch ist domalen von unseren gnadigen herren erkent // daß man zu dem frauen münster keinen knaben fürsclahe der under fünftzhen iar alt syge. //

## From the School Minutes (Acta Scholastica): Organization of Administrative Penalties (1578) and Index (1580) by Johann Jacob Friess

*Organization of Administrative Penalties (1578), Johann Jacob Friess*

Signature: E II 458, ff. 221r–30 to 223v–34 (transcription ASG)

[221r–30]

Die v. Convocatio. //

Den 16 Maij wurdent bschickt alle knaben uff den // stuben so in publicas lectiones gien-  
gend, unnd von uns. // gn. herren, mit allmu<o>sen oder stipendijs verlegt wurden //  
dere warend dozmalen an der zal 25. //

Die wurdent vermanet, das sy bruchen wellind ihren // bru<o>ff, unnd demselbigen  
gmeß leben, wan sy welten // (das ihr aller begeren were ohne zweyffel) das ihre sa-  
chen // wol stundind, unnd erglich erbeßereten unnd gefurderet wurdint etc. //

Hielt inen sonderlich für ettlich artikel, ob denen ich luth der // Schu<o>lordnungen  
die mir befohlen, ihr entlich halten welle, // unnd sy vor der straff vätterlich unnd  
gu<o>ter meinung warnen, //

1. Welcher die Lezgen ohne erlaubnuß versument, von // dem werde, 1 bz inzogen  
werden, luth der erkantnuß anno 1560 den // 6 Julij außgangen. //

Zu dem 11. // Kernn das blat //

[222r–31.]

1578. //

Zu dem 11. Welche predigen versumtind, sollend // um ii ß gebu<o>ßt werden noch  
luth miner gn. herren // erkantnuß vom stattschryber verzeichnet anno 1563 den //  
30 Junii. Zeigt wyter inne an der uffseheren werde es // nicht bedurffen, sonder man  
wurde aleine ir predigschryben // unnd daß dann zwochen oder zmonaten besehen,  
unnd da die // unflyßigen und flyßigen funnden unnd urtheilen. //

Das predig schryben ist geordnet offtermals, aber so // 1578 under der verwaltung h.  
Wilhelm Stukij, wie in sinen actis // wirt zefinden sin, erneüweret. //

III welche unbertig und unzüchtig, als die under den // dienstmegde louffend und stand, die hochzyt zu<o>besehen, // Die uff den benkly vor dem frowmünster sizend // Die nit still sinnd im auditorio als wen sy in der kilchen // werind, sollend noch glegenheit der that gestrafft werden //

IIII. Sy söllend Latine reden unnd nicht thütsch //

V Mit der kleydung sollend sy der ordnung gmeß mit // anlegen der roken sich verhalten, oder geb<o>ßt werden, // anno 1561 den 19 aprellen. //

VI. Letschlich, welche ergriffen werdend das sy in den // winklen zechend, unnd unmaaf tribend, die werdent gar geur=// laubet werden, den mine herren nicht suffen erzühen // wellind, syg ouch kein hoffnung das sy der kilchen werdind könden // dienen, diewyl sy hindan gesetzt das studieren in das zechen begebind // unnd die gedechtnuß verlierind etc. //

Ich zeigt inen auch eigentlich an was bißharo mit dem predig // schryben unnd lectionib. versumpt were, wurde man es der bu<o>ßhalb // die zwar groß sin wurd, blyben laßen unnd inen schenken, aber // uff künfftigen Sonntag den helgen pfingstag, solten sy anfahren die // predig zeschryben unnd lezgen besuchen by obbestimpter bu<o>ß. //

[222v-32]

VI C. Von Bstatigung und Erleuterung // der alten Ordnungen. //

Als wie vorthat ich die knaben gwarnet und vermant, die predigen // fürerhin fleyßig zu<o>schreyben, habent sy nach ihrer gewonheit, nichts // darnach gfraget, unnd von 24 knaben, nicht über 3 oder 4 gschryben // derhalben ich auff den abent den pedellen zu<o> innen gschickt unnd sy // widerum zu<o> der ghorsame vermant, da ettlich ihre zimliche ent=// schu<o>ldigung ghabt, ettlich sich sonsts ghorsamen erbotten, aber die // im hoff, oder underen collegio dem pedellen schlechten bscheyd geben, unnd // anzeigt, ihr zuchtmeister werde wol antwort geben, unnd // als ich nebensbrets verstanden, das ettlich diß min fürnemen fur ein // vewerung hielten, und mir nicht wol drum redten, hab ich //

Uff den 22 Maij am Donstag die verordneten zu<o> der Lheer all erbetten, // da dise nachgesetzten erschnen sinnd, h. Ru<o>d. Gualther H. Wolff. Haller // H. Lud. Laua. H. Hans Ja. Wick H. D Geo. Keller h. D. Caspar Wolff, // h. Wilhelm Stuky, M. Hans Frieß, h. Rud. Funnk, h. Hans Cholerus // h. Henrich Wolff h. Rud. Correr. Denen tru<o>g ich für // was ich mit den knaben vor pfingsten gehandelt hette, darz<o> mich dan // verursacht ihrer großer unflyß in lezgen und predigen, welchen ich // von etlichen tagen hatt von stund zu<o> stund auffgezeichnet durch die späch // gemacht, erwysen hab, Inen auch anzeigt, was mir daruber // begegnet syg, unnd zu bschirmung meiner

handlung ihnen glesen // miner herren erkantnuß anno 63 den 30 Junij gmachet, auch andere ord=// nungen, welche sy mir handzu<o>haben übergeben habind, //

War erstlich gerhaaten, das man die unfleyssigen unnd unghor // samen all nach einander inen stelle, unnd wider sy hanndle, //

[223r-33]

1578.//

Ward auch von merkliche sonderlich von eltesten geredt, es syge // recht das ich sy mit ernst und fleyß darzu<o> halten wöllen, // ir liederlichkeit komme nicht anderstwohar dan das man nicht // ob den sazungen styff haltet. //

Des inne stellenshalb bat ich für die anderen, die sich mertheils wie // obgmeldet ghorsammen furehin erbotten, doch der hans Krut // unnd die im hoff möchten gefragt werden. //

Hierzwischen als vil von inne der predigen und schrybens halb ward // geredt, ist hiervon nach gehalten umfrag beschloßen und // erkennt worden. //

1 Das es blybe bey meiner herre Mandat welcher nicht // in predig kumpt, solle geben ein behemisch zu bu<o>ß. //

2 Das gleychen gestalt welcher nicht schreybe die predig // solle auch geben im behemisch zu<o> bu<o>ß, //

3 Ward erleütet welche predigen sy schreyben sollind // namlich all keine außgenommen, mögind aber was inne nüz unnd // das furnembst in ettlichen verzeichnen. //

4. Ein fleyßiger knab doch heimlicher ward gsetzt // zu<o> einem uffseher, war dozmals andreas Grüter, //

5 Damit er ihren achten möge, söllend sy zu großen münster // all uff die cancel sizen, wer anderswo sizen welte wurde // man in als ein abwesenden notieren, unnd zu S. peter // in dem chor, zu<o> den frowmünster an ihren orten etc. //

6 Von den bu<o>ßfelligen solle der pedell einzerühen, unnd // einem 8 tag plaz geben, das er sy selbs erlegge, wo nicht sol // er an dem leyb mit der ruten gstraffen werden er syg groß oder kleyn, //

[223v-34.]

1578 //

7. Ward auch erkennt das man ob den ordnung und bu<o>ß // mit versumnuß der lezgen den 6 höwmonats anno 1560 styff // hielte, dergstalt die professores sollend den catalogus // lesen, die unfleyßigen durch den pedellen bu<o>ß zulegen vermanen, // die bu<o>ß den schulherren überantworten, unnd sol der schu<o>l // herr fleysig darob halten, das das auffsehen und auffzeichnen // der unfleyßigen, unnd einzeühen der bußen: nicht verscheyne // unnd versumpt werde. //



Derhalben hab ich den pedell alle sambstag [in margin above: zinstag] zu<o> end der wochen // zu<o> mir bscheyden unnd seinen zedel darin er die wochen // die unflyßigen verzeichnet, von im geforderet, //

Gleycher gestalt auch von dem uffseher der predigen, unnd // demnach gegen jedem uberrettenden nach gestalt der sach und lhut // der ordnung angends ghandlet, damit sy nicht in zu<o>vil // bu<o>ßen fielind, unnd zlang liederlich werind, wen nicht all // wochen sy [...]siert werind worden. // [Bracket from Derhalben...to this point on the left margin: Nota. wo das nit ein Schulherr thut ist alles vergebens [...] est experientia alijt an [...]men. sich von der wochen censur ein bsonderen rodel. auch am 87 blat.]

Der Sazung sind underworffen die publicas lectiones hörend, auch die // von wandlen kommen, aber noch nicht zu predigen uffgestellt werdent. //

*Index (1580) by Johann Jacob Friess*

Signature: E II 458, ff. 196–15 to 218–25m (transcription ASG)

[196r–15]

Register uber die Acten // deß 1578 unnd 1579 Jars. //

a

Allmusen knaben // am 3 blat//

Allmusen knaben sollen // nicht in das stipend inn deß // gstifftes kommen.  
206.215.195. //

ihr ledigen plazen erstattug 40. //65. 189. //

Aberly examine vergunt //

acta 26 bl. 30. // 72. 73. 173. //

Alte bußordnungen wider // die unflyßigen bstäteren // 33. //

Asinus sollen heben die // knaben so tütsch reden in // publicis. 10. 2. //

Allmusen knaben // nicht umstießend der ver // ordneten zu der lheur // anzunehmen. 213. //

Allmusen knaben // so von gleerten abge=// wysen nicht von // de pflegeren uff zu=// halten. 214. // [2nd column] Artikel den knaben // in der censur fügen=// halten. 211. //

[Text (B), 197r–16]

B. //

Buman Hans Jacob. 29 // 190. //

Bußordnungen 30 Knaben // furghalten 30 bußen // anhanng. 86. 115. 217. //

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 Boumler Marcus 131 //  
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 B. //  
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 Baltenschwyler hans // Henrich. 185. //  
 Bruno Michel. // 208.  
 Bretschinger 169. // Buhr Joachim. 210. //

[Text (B), 198r–17]

C. //  
 Choler gen wandlen. 26. // 190. //  
 Censur zum frowm. // wen sy sol sin 28. // 127. //  
 Collaboratores in // Die lezgen gmennten // 75. ao. 1578. unnd ao. 1560. // m 9 blat. //  
 Censur oder njhenbringen // der lezgen unnd predigen // vom schulherren alle wo  
 // chen. 87. 94. 95. //  
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 Collinus M. Rud. Funk // sich ghalten von herren beendere[...] // angnommen. 169.  
 171. //

[Text (B), 199r–18]

D. //  
 Das declamieren sollen nit // ande luth als publici bes[...] // sy predigend. 119. //  
 Zu declamieren sol sich // keiner wideren im buch // der Sazungen um 2 Blat. //

[Text (B), 200r–19.]

E. //  
 Examinandi sollen // ihre mitgsellen warten // mit vorlauffen 69. //  
 Expectanten in was // zyen sy ghan sollend // 71. //  
 Extemporantium thema // all monat vom Schul=// herrn geben. 78. //  
 Examen d schul das // jerlich. 115. oben 117 // unden. 207. //

In publicis. 118. // 207. re sich daß // examinibus nit widerum // in buch der sazungen ann j bl. //

Experimenta wie // uns heißen sollen die // publici gebe biß sy predig // en müßend 119. //

Egly Raphael 129. //

Examen philosophicum // [...]ge nicht vonnöten deren // so hie studierend 151. // wider spil bericht 180. //

[Text (B), 201r–20.]

F. //

frowmünster knaben // ao. 1578. am 7 bl. //

Ihr wandlen gför e in Cen // sur 27. //

Frowmünster censur wen // sy solle sin 28. //

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Ghorsame aller studieren // den gegen den schulherren // im buch der schulordnungen // an 1 blat. re am 2 blat. //

[Text (B), 204r–22.]

H //

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 Huser h. conrat. 103. //  
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 186. //

[Text (B), 205r–23.]

I.//

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 // 186. //

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Keller Mathiaß. 109. // 110. 170. //

Krumer Jacob von // Winterthur abgwyse 118. // 121. 208. //

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K. //

D. kellers lezgen sol // min Imch ein anderen // versehen werden. 145. //  
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L //  
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 summps. daselbst um 2 bl. //

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Uollen weyn zmerden // den studenten verboten // Sazungbuch am 2 blat. //

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W. //

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11 zechen in und ußert // der statt den studenten // verboten. im buch der // sa-  
zungen am 2 blat. //

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*Textbooks*





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Archiatro Caesareo, // Conradus Gesnerus // medicus // S. D. //

[722]

CONRADI GES= // NERI DE ANIMA LI- // BER ET PRIMVM, // DE ANIMAE ESSEN-  
TIA // SENTENTIAE // VETERVM. //

[724]

DE ANIMAE ESSEN- // tia diuersae veterum sententiae: //

[727]

SVPERIORES DE ANI- // mae essentia diuisiones in genere ferè // sunt. His magis  
particular- // res subijciam. //

[742]

DE PARTIBVS ANIMAE. //

[747]

IN ARISTOTELIS DE A- // nima libros Tabula seu intro- // ductio Iacobi Fabri Sta //  
pulensis. //

[750]

DE ANIMA VEGE- // tatiua. //

[766]

FACVLTATIS GE- // neratricis //

[767]

FACVLTATIS // auctricis //

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FACVLTATIS NV- // tricis //

[774]

SENSIBVS OMNIBVS EX-// ternis communia: & de sensu interiori // seu communi  
quaedam, secundum Ari- // stotelis maximè sententiam, libri 2. eius // de anima, ca-  
pite ultimo & alibi exposi- // tam: quibus etiam ex aliorum opi- // nione & propria,  
nonni- // hil adieciimus. //

[797]

DE SENSIBVS // Singulis. //

[798]

DE TACTV.//

[803]

DE OBIECTIS // tactus. //

[806]

TACTILIVM QVALI- // tatum distinctiones aliquot. // In primas & secundas.//

[811]

ALITER, DE QVALITA- // tibus tactui obiectis primis & secun- // dis, prout quatuor  
elementis // insunt, secundum Ocellum // Lucanum. //

[831]

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